MEMOIRS

OF

ANCIENT CHIVALRY.

BRITISH MUSEUM

MEMOIRS

OF

ANCIENT CHIVALRY.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THE ANECDOTES OF THE TIMES,

FROM THE

ROMANCE WRITERS AND HISTORIANS

OF THOSE AGES.

Lacurne de Sainte Palaye (J. B.)

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

MONSIEUR DE ST. PALAYE,

BY THE

TRANSLATOR OF THE LIFE OF PETRARCH.

M. Dobson

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DODSLEY, PALL-MALL.

M.DCC.LXXXIV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ANCIENT CHIAVARRA

OR

MEMOIRS

PREFACE.

AS the ſubject of this Tranſlation carries us back to a very diſtant period, it may be of uſe to make a few previous reflections, particularly on the ancient romance writers, who are ſo continually referred to in it.

THE progreſs of human knowledge, and its good effects on the

conduct of mankind, if juſtly conſidered, cannot admit of a doubt. But, to accompliſh this end, the world ſhould not only be viewed collectively, but with a peculiar attention, and claſſed into diſtinct periods: for as a general map of the earth will give an incomplete idea of any diſtinct part, ſo a curſory obſervation of different ages, will ſerve merely to produce a confuſed notion of what paſſed in any ſingle century. A minute view, therefore, of thoſe æras, wherein great events have taken place, or diſtinguiſhed characters have appeared,

peared, is eſſential to the obtaining a right judgment of the increaſe of ſcience, and the progreſs of the arts; and it would be well worth while to paſs over a multitude of tyrants, whoſe lives are written in blood, to purſue one good man through a life of uſeful ſtudy; or to obſerve the attempts made, however imperfectly, to reſcue the mind from ignorance and ſuperſtition.

This reflection induced me to tranſlate the Life of Petrarch, and the Hiſtory of the Troubadours; which, placed in their chro-

nological order with the following work, will include a comprehenſive period of ancient cuſtoms and manners, and the riſe and progreſs of knowledge that took place therein. To ſome, I am aware, the former may appear too remote to be of uſe, and in view to their prejudices concerning Chivalry, a childiſh object to attend to: yet let ſuch conſider (even allowing this to be the truth) that the prattle of an infant, though paſſed over by the careleſs and unconcerned, to the judicious and affectionate mind often announces noble diſpoſitions and a manly

a manly character; and is delightful to behold, as the prognoſtic of future perfection.

In one ſtriking point of view, the ages of Chivalry do indeed bear a ſtrong reſemblance to children. Thoſe who deſcribed them (which were chiefly the old romance writers) deſcribed ſimply what they ſaw; and have always been found in accord with hiſtorians of the greateſt authenticity. Their principal object was, to repreſent the characters, duties, and humane offices of the noble lords

and

and ladies of the age in which they lived, and thoſe who compoſed their courts, caſtles, and domains; and they referred even ſovereigns themſelves to the awful tribunal of divine juſtice. In this light, they are as highly to be prized as the ancient poets ſo juſtly were, in the times of the Greeks and Romans: and if ſome authors had known, inſtead of having deſpiſed, the ancient romances, they would have wrote with more clearneſs of thoſe ages. In truth, it is a great weakneſs to hold any work in contempt on account of its title, or becauſe a

multitude

multitude of trifling or bad productions bear the ſame; and was it not done by many, it ſhould ſeem quite unneceſſary to make the remark: for how much good ſenſe, knowledge of character, and juſt ſatire on vice and folly, in nations and individuals, not ſuited to graver ſubjects, or if ſuited not attended to, would be loſt, was this to become univerſal?

The romances of Aſtrea, Cyrus, Cleopatra, the Princeſs of Cleves, and Zayde, were wrote to paint the manners in the courts of Henry

the

the Fourth, Lewis the Thirteenth, and Lewis the Fourteenth, as characteriſtic novels; and for their delicacy (though ſomewhat prolix) they are far from deſerving the neglect they are fallen into.—— It would be a reflection on the reader to name, as proofs, ſome eſtabliſhed works of this kind, from Spaniſh, French, and Engliſh authors; or to dwell upon a late publication, which is no leſs ſurpriſing for the early period of life in which it was written, than for the juſtneſs of character (it being a picture of modern life) and the valuable ſenti-

ments,

ments, enforced by a peculiar ſtrength of language, through the whole.

PURSUED in their *juſt* meaſure, ſuch ſtudies are not only innocent, but might prove uſeful relaxations from the cares of life; and very advantageous ſubſtitutes, in many ſocial hours of leiſure, for thoſe late and diſſipating amuſements, which exhauſt the ſpirits and the health, or waſte the property, of individuals.

WITH reſpect to the romance writers referred to in this work, they have the teſtimony of ſo many

French

French writers of note, that I will only quote a few of them.—Le Laboureur ſays, "The truth is recorded in theſe ancient romances, nor is aught exaggerated in them. The cuſtoms of the times, the order and ceremony of the tournaments, and the extreme ſubmiſſion and reſpect paid to the knights (inſomuch that they were never approached but with the loweſt obeiſance) are ſo faithfully drawn, that, however the ſtudy of the old romances may be cenſured by the ignorant, I muſt aſſert (adds he) that it would be a diſgrace to a man of learning, not

to

to have read them; or having read, not to profit by them. They are in fact a portrait of the old times; and are to be regarded as we do the remains of ſculpture, the perfections of which we admire, without being offended at the want of drapery. Theſe writers (continues he) who give the hiſtory of Chivalry and Knight-errantry, contain what I have not found in the hiſtorians of thoſe times; who, in their general relations, touch not on the cuſtoms and manners that were peculiar to them. To the old romances (concludes Le Laboureur) have I been

been obliged to apply for the diſcovery of theſe things; and from their copious fund of obſervation, the geographer, chronologer, antiquarian, and profeſſor of heraldry, may draw the moſt curious and important details."—Favin and Gallond declare, it is from this well we muſt draw the true knowledge of antiquity: "for the hiſtorians ſeldom give themſelves (add theſe writers) the trouble to tranſmit the particulars of ancient cuſtoms: they only mention them by the bye."—M. Chapellain,

pellain, whoſe erudition is univerſally acknowledged, expreſſes the ſame ſentiment, in a dialogue addreſſed to the Cardinal de Retz:—and M. Le Fevre determined to draw up a treatiſe on the ancient cuſtoms, in which his matter ſhould be chiefly taken from the romance of Lancelot de Lac.

FURNISHED with ſuch reſpectable authorities, there requires little apology for claſſing the ancient romance writers with the hiſtorians of thoſe times: the ſource from whence they formed their romances, being the relations of the

knights errant made on oath, the compoſitions of the heralds, and the recitals of the Troubadours: and nothing but diſgrace could be gained by a miſrepreſentation of places, characters, cuſtoms, and manners well known.

Let us not, therefore, deſpiſe theſe works of antiquity, but revere them for the knowledge and the inſtructions their curious details afford us. Women, in particular, ought to hold theſe ancient writers in high eſteem, for the deference they paid to modeſty, and the fame

they

they ſo liberally beſtowed on virtue. They taught generous firmneſs, judicious obſervance of ſuperiors, and conſtant love, to unite in the ſame hearts: they taught to honour the valiant, to attend the wounded, to relieve the diſtreſſed, and to diſpenſe the ſweet ſolace of chearful and gentle manners to all around them: they taught them to reſpect themſelves, and to prefer others; to be ſilent, obſervant, and induſtrious in youth, graceful and dignified in maturity, venerable in age, and lamented at death.

HAD I not been fully perſuaded that the following Work was fruitful of inſtruction to all, but particularly to the youth of both ſexes, I would not have undertaken the tranſlation of it, or have been at the pains of interweaving the notes into the original: but theſe appeared to me peculiarly deſerving of attention, as they are quotations from the ancient romances, and from a few of the old French hiſtorians, which are moſt of them very ſcarce, if at all to be procured in this kingdom.

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MEMOIRS

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OF

ANCIENT CHIVALRY.

PART I.

The condition and employment of the Page and the Squire.

CHIVALRY, conſidered as a dignity which gave the firſt rank in the military profeſſion, conferred by peculiar ceremonies and a ſolemn oath, cannot be traced further back than the eleventh century; though Charlemagne, and other kings of France, conferred it on their children, as did alſo, ſays Tacitus, the

Germans. However it may be viewed, in modern times, as a frivolous or pernicious eſtabliſhment, it was nevertheleſs the work of an enlightened policy, and the glory of thoſe nations among whom it flouriſhed!

To give a juſt idea of its utility, it will be neceſſary to behold the knight from the cradle to the tomb; to conſider his education in youth, and his domeſtic and military ſervices; and to join, with a diſtinct view of his character, a deſcription of the tournaments which fitted him for war: to obſerve the uſe made in the armies, of the valour, addreſs, and experience of the knights who were thus trained; the rewards promiſed to thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the combats and battles; and the puniſhments with which they were threatened, if they failed in their duty: and, finally, to obſerve a ſtrict impartiality, and take in the whole view of this ſubject, it will be expedient to examine the cauſes which produced the

decay and ruin of chivalry, and the inconveniencies which, in ſome degree, counterbalanced the advantages of this noble inſtitution.

THE child who was deſtined to knighthood, continued, till ſeven years of age, in the care of women; he was then taken from them, and put into the hands of a governor (as the emperor Julian obſerves of himſelf in his Miſopogon) and by a robuſt and manly education, he was early prepared for the labour of war.

IN default of paternal aſſiſtance, the courts of princes and caſtles of the nobles were always open, in which the young nobility received their firſt leſſons; and theſe caſtles were even religious hoſpitals, the lords of which furniſhed, with a generous abundance, all that was requiſite to ſupply their wants. This was the only reſource for the youth without dower, in theſe ages; for the power and liberality of ſove-

reigns, equally limited, had not yet opened a more uſeful and noble way for thoſe who would devote themſelves to the defence and the honour of their ſtate and their crown.

To be thus attached to ſome illuſtrious knight, had nothing in it degrading; it was only rendering benefit for benefit; and it muſt have been a refinement more ſubtle than noble-minded, that could have refuſed the gratefully paying to him, who generouſly took the place of a father, the ſervices ſo juſtly his due as from a ſon.

If any ſhould aſcribe the origin of this benevolence to vanity, it muſt ſtill be acknowledged, that even this vanity concurred to the public good, and was at leaſt an imitation of virtue. The kind of independence which the firſt barons had enjoyed at the beginning of the third race of kings, their houſes being compoſed of the ſame officers as that of the king, gave a ſort

a ſort of title to their ſucceſſors to imitate, in the pomp of what they called their courts, that ſplendour and magnificence which belonged only to royal dignity. The diſtinct privileges of ſome barons were, to have a marſhal and a conſtable: and inferior lords, by the contagion common in all ages, of emulating the appearance of thoſe above them, ſought to aggrandize the ſtate of their houſes.

IN the eleventh century, the great lords were reproached with multiplying their domeſtic chapels, which abuſe continued to the fourteenth century; even common lawyers had their chaplains. In a caſtle and a monaſtery there were the ſame officers as in the court of a ſovereign: when the abbot of St. Denys went into the country, he was accompanied by a chamberlain and a marſhal, whoſe offices were erected into a fief.

THE firſt place given the young man to fill up, who emerged from the ſtate of childhood, was that of a Page; a name ſometimes given to the ſquires. Saintie Jouveneal, being then thirteen years of age, went from the palace of the lord of Prieulle to the court of King John; where he was a page, and a child of honour, and was called ſometimes a valet, and at others a ſquire. Inferior ſervants were ſtiled body pages, and ſometimes only pages. According to Juvenal des Urſins, in his hiſtory of Charles the Sixth, "there were eight thouſand knights and ſquires, ſervants and body pages without end."

THE employments of the young page, were to perform the ſervice of a domeſtic about the perſons of his maſter and miſtreſs; he attended them to the chace, on their journies, their viſits, and their walks; he carried their meſſages, and even waited on them at table, and poured out their drink.

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THE young chevalier Bayard was placed by his parents in the houſe of the biſhop of Grenoble, his uncle, who brought him with him to the court of Savoy. The prelate being admitted to the table of the duke, during the dinner his nephew, the good chevalier Bayard, ſerved him with drink in exact order, and demeaned himſelf with great delicacy. The protection of the great, their commendations, and the emulation this raiſed in the hearts of their pages, were ſources of the courteſy and good-breeding of the knights.

THE firſt leſſons given to the page, conſiſted principally in the love of God, and attachment and reſpect to the fair ſex. They cauſed him early to make choice of one of the moſt noble, handſome, and virtuous ladies in the courts he frequented; and to her he was to refer all his ſentiments, thoughts, and actions. The precepts of religion eſtabliſhed, however, in the heart, a veneration for things ſacred,

which, ſooner or later, had its effect; and the precepts of love, ſpread over the commerce with the fair ſex, that circumſpection, that tender reſpect, and attention, which has never been effaced, but has always been the particular character of the French nation. Gallantry had even introduced into their epiſtolary commerce this concluding form, and the Queen of France uſed it in this ſenſe to Saintie: "I pray "God to give you joy of your lady, and "of all you deſire."—The inſtructions that the youth received, with reſpect to decency of manners, to converſation, and to virtue, were continually exemplified in the characters of the knight and the lady he ſerved. In them were repreſented the models of thoſe exterior graces ſo neceſſary in the commerce of the world.

THE generous care of the nobles to employ the youth who were unprovided for, turned out to their own advantage. It gave competitors, in theſe young men,

to

to their children, which excited in them a juſt emulation. The connexions thus formed by habit, a long union with each other in youth, and the double tie of benefits and gratitude ſucceeding, became indiſſoluble bonds in after life. Of this noble friendſhip, Saintie and Boucicout, who were brought up together in the domeſtic ſervice of the king, were eminent examples. But what was conſidered of ſtill more importance than all, was the teaching the pupil (and which indeed they were the moſt capable of teaching in this age) to reſpect the auguſt and ſacred character of Chivalry, and to revere, in the knights, the virtues that had raiſed them to this high dignity. By this means the ſervices they rendered them were ſtill greater in their eſteem; and when they ſerved a ſingle knight, they paid as it were a tribute to the whole body of knighthood.

THE games, which made a part of the amuſements of the pupil, contributed alſo to his inſtruction. The emulative diſpoſition, natural to his age, led him to imitate what he beheld done by perſons who were older than himſelf; and thus he formed an early taſte for the different kinds of tournaments he was to engage in, that he might obtain the degree of ſquire, which was often the next ſtep to knighthood. But before he paſſed from the condition of page to that of ſquire, religion had introduced a ſort of ceremony, the deſign of which was to teach him the uſe he was to make of the ſword, which for the firſt time was put into his hands. The young man, on his quitting the place of page, was preſented to the altar by his father and mother, who each holding a lighted taper in their hands, attended the ſolemnity. The officiating prieſt took from the altar a ſword and a girdle, on which he beſtowed ſeveral benedictions, and then faſtening

faſtening it to the ſide of the young man, from that time he conſtantly wore it.

THE courts and the caſtles were alſo excellent ſchools of courteſy, of politeneſs, and other virtues, for the young gentlewomen bred up with the pages and ſquires; they were herein inſtructed in the moſt eſſential duties they were to perform; thoſe ſimple graces and tender ſentiments, for which nature ſeemed to have formed them, were here cultivated in perfection. Courteſy towards perſons in a low eſtate was ſtrongly recommended, as well as reſpect to the great: the latter, they were taught, claimed it of right, and there was no virtue in ſhewing it to them; it was only a neceſſary propriety of character: but humility and tenderneſs to inferiors were teſtimonies of a good, frank, and gentle heart, and brought real glory to its poſſeſſor. The Chevalier de la Tour, in his Inſtructions to his Daughter, gives an example of this amiable deport-

ment,

ment, in a noble lady whom he ſaw, in a great company of knights and ladies of high rank, who took off her hood to a common ironmonger, made him a courteſy, and rendered herſelf lowly before him: being reproached by ſome for this condeſcenſion, "I would rather have failed in courteſy," replied ſhe, "to an equal or ſuperior, than be wanting in manners to an inferior." The Chevalier de la Tour, in this treatiſe, adviſes his children, among other excellent inſtructions, to ſpeak courteouſly, but not to talk or laugh too much; not to be abſent or inattentive, lofty or bold; "for no good can enſue from ſuch manners," adds he, "in your future lives."

THE young gentlewomen were taught alſo to anticipate in civility the knights who viſited at the caſtles; to diſarm them on their return from the tournaments and warlike expeditions; to provide them change of garments, and to ſerve them at table: the examples of which are ſo frequent,

frequent, as not to cauſe the leaſt doubt of this cuſtom; and it was agreeable to the ſpirit and the ſentiment which was univerſal among women in this age: and to have thoſe generous attentions and cares conferred by thoſe with whom they were afterwards to form an alliance, was, as it were, the ſeal of knighthood. This alſo inſpired women with fortitude: of which a Spaniſh lady gave a memorable proof; who diſarming her huſband, on his return from a tournament in which he came off victor, found a ſplinter of a lance remaining in his leg; "this ſplinter," exclaimed ſhe, "is his glory, and my pride!" Affection, and the deſire of being the firſt to aſſiſt theſe knights, inſpired this noble courage! They waſhed off the duſt and blood with which they were covered; and they conſidered the doing this, as an honour peculiar to themſelves. The ancient writers of romance relate only the truth, when they ſay, that the ladies and young gentlewomen knew how to give to the wounded all the neceſſary ſuccour that a

ſkilful

ſkilful and experienced hand was capable of beſtowing: "My brave nephew," ſays one of the heroines, in the romance of Perceforeſt, "your arm ſeems to hang in a very uneaſy poſture." "By my faith, dear lady, and ſo it does," replied Norgul. "Will you be ſo good as to have it examined?"—Then the lady called her own daughter, who was named Helaine, who ſhewed great civility and tenderneſs to her couſin. Then looking at his arm, ſhe found it out of its place, and ſhe managed ſo well, that ſhe put it in again. She then ſaid, "My couſin, you may now go, for you are cured:" at which Norgul was marvelouſly joyous, and a thouſand times he thanked his couſin, but he was in no hurry to take his departure.

THE young man, on emerging from the employment of a page, took on him that of a ſquire. To give a preciſe idea of the diſtinction between a knight and a ſquire, we muſt refer to the metaphorical uſe of the word ſquire in the French language.

It

It is there tranſported to agriculture, to ſignify the ſucker or young ſprig which ſhoots from the vine: this young ſhoot would be a very juſt emblem of the new race deſtined to repreſent the precious ſtem from whence it aroſe, to re-produce and multiply the ſpecies. This word is alſo uſed by hunters with equal import to this ſubject, ſignifying the attachment and ſubordination of the ſquire to the knight, whoſe ſteps he follows every where, and obſerves his conduct, like the young ſtag, who follows with tenderneſs and conſtancy the old one.

THE ſquires were divided into different claſſes, according to the employment given them. The Body Squire, or he who had the care of the things relative to the perſon of the lady or the knight; the Squire of the Chamber, or the Chamberlain, to whoſe care was committed the gold and the ſilver of their maſters: theſe officers, and the Conſtable, had the charge of

of the veſſels of gold and ſilver uſed at the tables, and of delivering them out when wanted. The Gentleman Carver, who carved the meat for the gueſts; and the Gentleman Butler, who, with the Cup-bearer, poured out the wine. The moſt honourable of all theſe offices was that of the perſon called the Body Squire, or the Squire of Honour; he carried his maſter's ſtandard, and gave the watch-word in battle. In leſs numerous families 'tis poſſible a ſingle ſquire might be charged with ſeveral different employments.

THE education given by the biſhops to the young ſcholars who were attached to them, cauſed the parallel made by ancient authors, of the prelacy with knighthood. The latter were the ſeminaries of the ſquires; the former of the young clergy, who held the places of readers and ſecretaries to the prelate, followed him every where, and delivered his letters and his orders. The ſquire, in his new dignity, approached ſtill

nearer

nearer the perſons of his lord and his lady, and became more aſſiduous in ſtudying and cultivating their affection: he helped to dreſs and undreſs his lord, and always attended him, morning and evening, in his apartments.

IT was his employment alſo to ſhew to the noble ſtrangers, the knights, and the ſquires who came in their train, what was then called the Honours; a method of ſpeaking ſtill preſerved, and which ſignifies, properly, all the ceremonies of a court, of aſſemblies, and feſtivals; in fine, he redoubled his attention to appear with all the advantages that it was poſſible to obtain from grace of perſon, a prepoſſeſſing addreſs, a polite language, modeſty, wiſdom, and diſcretion in converſation; accompanied, however, with a noble eaſe and liberty of expreſſion when occaſion required it.

THE young ſquire had learnt a long time, by ſilent obſervation, the art of ſpeaking well, when, in the inferior rank of carver, he ſtood at all the repaſts and feſtivals, ſolely employed in cutting the meats with a ſuitable propriety, dexterity, and elegance, and having them diſtributed to the noble gueſts with whom he was ſurrounded.

JOINVILLE, in his youth, had filled up this office at the court of St. Louis. In the recital he makes of the great court and open houſe that St. Louis held at Saumur, in Anjou, ſpeaking of the new knights at the table of the king, he adds, "At another table before the king, eat the king of Navarre, who was dreſſed in cloth of gold, with a girdle, a claſp, and a helmet, all of fine gold; before whom I carved:—before St. Louis the king, the Count d'Artois and his brother ſerved the meat, and the good Count of Soiſſons carved."—In the houſes of ſovereigns, this office was

ſometimes performed by their own children. The young Count de Foix carved at the table of Garſton de Foix, his father, according to Froiſſart. "The Count de Foix ſeated himſelf at table in the hall, and Garſton his ſon ſerved him with all his meats, of which he taſted before he preſented them."

THE ſquires had alſo the care of preparing the table; they brought in the meats appointed for each ſervice, and took care of the pantry and the wine-cellar; they paid continual attention that nothing ſhould be wanting to the inferior aſſiſtants; they gave to waſh after the repaſt, took away the tables, and diſpoſed every thing in its proper order for the aſſemblies, the balls, and the other amuſements that ſucceeded, in which they bore a part, with the young gentlewomen who were in the train of noble ladies; after which they ſerved the ſweetmeats and ſugar-plumbs, the clairet, or liquor compoſed of

wine and honey; the piment, another mixture of ſpices, wine, and confections; alſo burnt wine and hippocras, which was a compound wine, eſteemed very delicious. Theſe, and other liquors, were always ſerved at the end of theſe feaſts, and continued to be taken while they were undreſſing for bed, and were called, 'the wine of repoſe;' an alluſion to which is in the romance of Gerard de Rouſſillon. "The tables being ſerved, they ſit down to eat; after eating they go out to amuſe themſelves in the great court; he who knows a ſong or a fable, ſings or relates it, and the knights make a recital of their exploits and of their adventures; with which Gerard and his gueſts are delighted, till the cold of the night comes on; the Count then calls for wine, and goes to ſleep: in the morning he riſes with the day, and his ſquire helps to dreſs him." — The ſquires made alſo the beds, and accompanied the ſtrangers to the chambers they had prepared for them, ſerving them with the wine

wine of repoſe.—In ancient times, to give the wine of repoſe was a privilege attached to certain officers in the houſe of the king.

FROISSART, who has ſucceeded better than any of the French hiſtorians in painting the manners of his age, has given us, in the third volume of his hiſtory, a ſimple and faithful picture of the court of the Count de Foix, at which he had often been. After deſcribing the feaſts of this lord, "To ſum up all," adds he, "before I came to this court, I had been in many courts of kings, dukes, and princes, of counts and noble ladies; but I was never in any court that pleaſed me ſo well, nor where I beheld more joy and valour, than in this of the Count de Foix. In the halls, in the apartments, in the open courts, the knights and ſquires of honour paſſed and repaſſed, and diſcourſed of love and of arms. All honour was found here; intelligence from every country; there was no kingdom whatſoever from which news was not here ob-

tained; for from every part of the world they came to behold the worth and valour of the good Count de Foix."

FROM the offices of the houſe the ſquire paſſed to another, to which theſe introduced him, which demanded more ſtrength and ſkill; and this was, the qualifying himſelf for huntſman, an office in high eſteem; and the management of the horſes; which could not but be a noble employment with a warlike nobility, who always fought on horſeback.

THE Chevalier Bayard was placed, by the Duke of Savoy, in the hands of a ſquire of good truſt, who had the charge of his conduct, to inſtruct him in this art. The ſquire was to keep the arms of his maſter bright as ſilver, and always ready for uſe at a moment's warning. All theſe different kinds of domeſtic ſervices, in which the ſquire had proper aſſiſtants, were intermixed with the military ſervice, nearly

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the ſame to that which is obſerved in time of war; and there was one domeſtic, who at midnight always went his rounds by all the chambers, and through the courts of the caſtle. When the lord went into public, his ſquire walked his horſes backward and forward in the pavilions and liſts; ſome held his ſtirrup, others carried the different pieces of his armour, his braſſets or arm-pieces, his gantlets, his helmet, his ſhield, his lancet, his ſword, and his ſtandard: as to his cuiraſs or breaſt-piece, that could no more be diſpenſed with in a knight, than the buckler in the Greek or Roman ſoldier. But when he went to ride only, he mounted a cropped, trained, ambling courſer, of a reddiſh colour, and of an eaſy and commodious pace.

IN this age it was conſidered as degrading to uſe mares, and they were aſſigned to plebeians, and prudently reſerved for the cultivation of the land, and the multiplication of the ſpecies. A good policy

was as much the foundation of this rule, as that of one of the kings of France; who, to ſuppreſs luxury, prohibited the wearing of golden ornaments to all women but thoſe of bad lives. Perceforeſt, in his famous romance, deſcriptive of ancient manners, alludes to this cuſtom: ſpeaking of a knight in the field, "Behold and ſee! in the midſt, a young mare ſo large and ſtrong as if it was the war-horſe of the king, and think whether this knight could intend it for his ſervice! Certainly he could not do a thing ſo diſhonourable; he muſt be a baſe and recreant knight if he does, and no knight of valour, or who loves his honour, will jouſt or try ſwords with him, any more than they would with a madman or a beggar."

WAR-horſes, which were of a peculiar ſize, were led in the march by ſquires on the right hand, as Perceforeſt relates: "Then came my Lord Gauvain, and two ſquires, one of whom led his courſer on the

the right hand, and carried his ſword, and the other his helmet and his ſhield. When he entered the foreſt, he met four ſquires, who led four white ſteeds on their right hand; and further, a page, who rode a ſtrong horſe, of a reddiſh colour, and led a black courſer in his right hand." The ſquires gave theſe led horſes to their maſters when the enemy appeared, or when danger called him to the battle; and this was called, 'mounting the great horſe,' a term ſtill in uſe, as well as that of, 'a word and a blow,' taken from the fierce countenance with which the ſquire, who followed his lord to the fight, carried his helmet fixed on the pommel of his ſaddle. This, and all the other parts of his armour, were put on the knight by the different ſquires, who carried them with the niceſt care and the moſt reſpectful attention; and thus they learnt to arm themſelves for the ſafety of their perſons when occaſion required.

THIS was an art which demanded much ſkill, and a particular dexterity; to fix and claſp the joints of the cuiraſs and the other pieces of armour; to ſettle exactly and to lace the helmet on the head; and above all, to cloſe and clench together with the niceſt evenneſs the viſor or face-piece. The accident which happened to Henry the Second, who was wounded in the face in a ſingle combat, which was the cauſe of his death, was probably owing to negligence in this point; and the ſucceſs and ſafety of every combatant depended on the exactneſs with which he was armed.

THE officers charged with the helmet, lance, and ſword, took them alſo when the knight put them off to enter into a church, or other ſacred place, and on his entrance into the caſtles of the nobles. "Gerard de Rouſſillon," ſays Peter de Monrabey, "arriving at the caſtle of Rouſſillon, enters it over the firſt bridge: the

the knights run to meet him in the piazza under the belfrey: he commits his ſword to his ſquire, and then enters the church and prays." The cuſtom of taking off the helmet on ſuch occaſions, poſſibly gave riſe to that of uncovering the head, now in uſe in places and before perſons of peculiar ſacredneſs or dignity.

IMMEDIATELY when the knights had mounted their war-horſes, and the engagement was begun, each ſquire, who on the march had preceded them on reddiſh horſes, now drew back, and, ranged behind their maſters, to whom they had given the ſword, remained in ſome meaſure idle ſpectators of the combat. And this cuſtom was ſuitable to the method in which the troops of cavalry were ranged in battle; for fighting in ſquadrons was ſcarcely begun in France in the age of thoſe great generals Montlue and La Noue, or, as they then expreſſed it, fighting in hoſt. In vain did they repreſent the neceſſity of reforming the ancient cuſtom. The advantage gained in the

the battle of Coutras, in 1587, by the troops of Henry the Fourth over thoſe of Henry the Third, and thoſe of Chatillon over the Leaguers, in 1589, in the battle of Bonneval, near Chartres, had more effect than the opinion of thoſe great maſters in the tactic art. "Charles the Fifth was the firſt," ſays La Noue, "who formed his cavalry into ſquadrons or hoſts; and from that time the Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Burgundians, have adopted this cuſtom."

DURING the combat, the ſquire, tho' an idle ſpectator in one ſenſe, was not ſo in another: in the terrible ſhock of the two lines of knights, who, with their lances bent, fell headlong on each other; ſome, wounded or overthrown, roſe up again, pulled out their ſwords, their axes, their clubs or maces, to defend and revenge themſelves; and others ſought to profit from and take an advantage of their enemies who were overthrown. In theſe inſtances,

inſtances, each ſquire was attentive to every motion of his maſter; the one to give him, in caſe of accident, new arms, to ward off the ſtrokes aimed at him, to raiſe him up when he fell, and give him a new horſe; while the other ſeconded his maſter, by every means his ſkill, his valour, and his zeal could ſuggeſt, and aided him, though always within the ſtrict bounds of the defenſive, to profit from his advantages, and gain a compleat victory.

THIS cuſtom was afterwards limited to kings, who alone had their attendant ſquires; but was laid aſide alſo with them, and did not ſubſiſt in the time of Brantome; who thus ſpeaks: "I have heard the old captains ſay, that formerly, by an ancient rule in the battles, the firſt and nobleſt ſquires of the kings of France were accuſtomed to be always near them, and never quitted their ſide; but they only warded off the blows levelled at their maſters, nor employed themſelves in aught

aught beſides: as did (ſay they) that brave and noble ſquire, St. Severin, at the battle of Pavia, who died at the ſide of king Francis, for his valiant deeds much honoured and praiſed by his king."

IT was alſo to the ſquires that the knights confided, in the heat of the battle, the priſoners they took. This ſpectacle, which was a living leſſon of addreſs and courage, repreſenting continually to the young warrior new methods of defence, and becoming ſuperior to the enemy, gave him the means, at the ſame time, of proving his own valour, and of judging whether he was capable of ſuſtaining ſo many labours and perils. Thus, a weak and inexperienced youth was not expoſed to bear the heavy toil and burthen of war, without having learnt, long before, whether his ſtrength and his talents were equal to ſuch a charge.

BUT the ſquire paſſed not immediately from a peaceful ſervice, to ſuch perilous encounters. The courts and the caſtles were ſchools where the young warriors were formed, who were deſtined for the ſervice and defence of the ſtate; laborious games were here practiſed, in which the body acquired flexibility, agility, and the vigour ſo neceſſary in battle; running at the ring, courſes of horſes and of lances, prepared for thoſe tournaments, which were only faint images of war.

THE account given by the hiſtorian of the life of Boucicout, proves how laborious thoſe exerciſes were by which the youth, formed to fatigue and hardſhip, were prepared for war. "Sometimes (ſays the hiſtorian, ſpeaking of young Boucicout) he attempted to leap on a horſe, armed from head to foot; at other times he ran as far and as faſt as he could, to accuſtom himſelf to take long breath, and to ſuffer much fatigue; then he would

would wield the ax in different ways, and ſtrike the ball with the mallet. To inure himſelf to armour, and to accuſtom his arms to move eaſily under its weight, he made ſudden jumps, armed with all his parts of armour, and danced in a coat of mail—vaulted, without ſetting his foot in the ſtirrup, on a courſer, armed at all points—vaulted behind a warrior on his war-horſe, only holding by the warrior's arm with one hand—placing one hand on the ſaddle-bow of a war-horſe, and the other between his ears, he ſeized him by the mane, and vaulted over him as he moved along in the open field. If two walls of plaiſter were at ſix feet diſtance, the height of a tower, by ſtrength and ſkill he would mount to the top of one, and leap to and come down the other, without ſlip or fall; alſo he would aſcend a ladder ſet againſt the higheſt wall, without touching it with his feet, but leaping with two hands from one ſtep to the other, armed with a coat of braſs armour: and when he was at home,

he

he attempted to throw the lance, or perform other arduous feats of war."

THIS recital may appear romantic to thoſe who are not informed of the ancient cuſtoms; but to prove its reality, they need only have recourſe to the Memoirs of Sully; where we ſee the account of the exerciſes in which Henry the Fourth was continually occupied, more than two centuries after the time of Boucicaut. While Henry lived, he kept up in his court the ancient ſpirit of Chivalry, by the model he preſented continually, in his own conduct, to the eyes of his warriors.

WE ſee by this account, that thoſe who aſpired to knighthood were to unite in themſelves, all the ſtrength requiſite to the moſt laborious trades, with all the genius and addreſs proper for the moſt ſkilful arts, and the talents neceſſary for excelling in horſemanſhip and war. It is therefore the leſs ſurpriſing to behold the

title of ſquire held in ſo much honour, that it has been given to the eldeſt ſon of one of the kings of France, as we learn from the letters of Charles the Eighth and his queens, and thoſe of Monſieur and Madame de Beaujeau, in which they ſpeak of the dauphin under the title of a ſquire.

ON theſe accounts it was, not without reaſon, they miſtruſted paternal tenderneſs, which would perhaps have ſoftened too much ſuch rigorous proofs of courage and labour in a domeſtic education: hence a knight was led to place his ſon in the houſe of another knight, ſuperior to himſelf perhaps in valour, though not in rank, to learn the office of a ſquire, and to acquire the knowledge and vigour neceſſary to knighthood. It was from this motive Antoine de Chabanne was firſt admitted into the houſe of the Count de Ventadour, and afterwards into that of La Hire; and it was not till he came out of theſe ſchools

of war, that he was made commander in chief of the government of Creil-ſur-Oiſe.

AN author, who had long borne arms, lived in the court, and ſeen Chivalry flouriſh in the reign of Charles the Fifth, lamenting its decay under Charles the Sixth, gives an account of the cauſes which contributed to its original ſplendor. "The youth (ſays he) paſſed at firſt through the ſtation of purſuivants, carrying the lance of the knights, learning to ride the great horſe, and being introduced to the three profeſſions of arms; that is, the frequenting the courts of the princes of their own nation—following the armies, from whence came the name of purſuivant at arms—and going, in time of peace, on voyages, or with meſſages, to diſtant countries, to acquire more experience in arms and in tournaments, and to diſcover the manners of foreign lands; from whence they learnt courteſy, the art of

defence, and tilting in particular, not ſuperficially, but in the moſt perfect manner. To this end, they minutely obſerved every thing that paſſed, and had pocket-books, in which they wrote down the moſt remarkable feats and circumſtances."

IT cannot be doubted, but that the ladies who were ſpectators of the games of the young nobility, aſſiſted at the exerciſes of the ſquires: but it appears that they did not, in the moſt ancient times, aſſiſt at the tournaments; yet at laſt, the terror of ſeeing bloodſhed, gave way, in the hearts of this tender ſex, to the ſentiments of glory; they then repaired in crowds to the tournaments; and this, therefore, was the epocha of their celebrity and perfection.

THE evening before the tournament was celebrated, there was a kind of tilting, called 'eſſays on proof,' or 'veſpers of the tournaments;'

tournaments;' in which the moſt ſkilful ſquires attacked each other with lighter arms,—arms eaſier to manage than thoſe of the knights; eaſier to break, and leſs dangerous for thoſe who were wounded with them. It is ſaid, in the letter of Lewis the Twelfth, that "in the tilting at the marriage of M. d'Alençon, the lances were ſmall ones, on account of the young princes who were to tilt at this ceremony."

THESE veſpers, or evening eſſays, were the prelude of the grand ſpectacle, called 'the maſter tournament, the high and glorious day of the tournament;' in which the braveſt and the moſt ſkilful knights were to exhibit the next day, before an innumerable multitude of ſpectators of all ſorts. Thoſe of the ſquires who were the moſt ſignalized in the firſt tournaments, and who had carried off the prize, acquired, ſometimes, the right to figure in the ſecond among the illuſtrious order of

knights, obtaining hereby the honour of knighthood: but this mixture of knights and ſquires introduced at length many abuſes in Chivalry, and cauſed it to degenerate; the ſquires uſurping, ſucceſſively and by degrees, the honours and diſtinctions which belonged only to the knights.

EVERY kind of ſervice rendered to a knight, might merit, from his kind acknowledgment, the favour of being armed by his hand with the badge of knighthood; but the ſervice done near his perſon, and in his houſe, in the ſtation of ſquire, during a courſe of years, gave him the more certain right to hope for this reward. There was, however, ſometimes, danger from ſerving ſome knights too well, who becoming more intereſted in the advantages they received, in their own perſons, from their ſquires, than ſolicitous for their honour, continually deferred beſtowing this mark of their favour, that they might not loſe the value of their ſervice.

SOME

SOME authors have ſaid, that the ladies had power to confer knighthood: and of this there is an inſtance in the hiſtory of Du Gueſclin, that Jane de la Val, widow of the Conſtable, girded the ſword her huſband had worn on Andrew de la Val, afterwards marechal of France, when very young, and made him a knight: there is alſo an example, as will be ſeen, of a queen conferring this honour: but theſe are only ſingular inſtances, and do not prove the above obſervation.

THE proſpect of this great honour impreſſed ſentiments ſo noble and elevated, and gave riſe to actions ſo daring and heroic, as almoſt to exceed the ideas of mere humanity; and thus the ſquire was fully repaid for his ſervices to his ſovereign and to his country.

THE age of twenty-one, was that in which the youth, after ſo many proofs of valour, might be admitted to the honour

of knighthood. But this rule of being admitted to knighthood from ſuch ſervices, was not always obſerved in the caſe of every individual; birth giving to the princes of the blood in the French nation, and to all ſovereigns, excluſive privileges of ſuperiority. "The ſons of the kings of France (ſays Monſtrelet) are knights at the font of baptiſm, being regarded as the chiefs of knighthood; they receive, from the cradle, the ſword, which is to be the ſign thereof; and it is in conformity with this idea they are inveſted, as ſoon as they are born, with the ribbon of the order of the Holy Ghoſt.

THE queen of Charles the Fifth being brought to bed, in 1371, of a ſecond ſon, who was afterwards Duke of Orleans, the Conſtable Gueſclin, his ſecond godfather, immediately after the ceremony of baptiſm, drew his ſword, and putting it quite naked into the hand of the little child, who was alſo naked, ſaid to him—

"My

"My lord, I give you this ſword, and "I put it into your hand; and I pray God "to give you ſo good and valiant a heart, "that you may prove as worthy and re- "doubted a knight, as was the king of "France, who wore this ſword."

"THE child alſo of whom the Ducheſs of Burgundy lay-in, was made a knight (ſays Monſtrelet) at the font, and named Charles by his father, who created him Count de Charolois." "Charles the Fifth, the grandſon of this Charles, was only a year and a half old when he received the order of the Fleece," ſays Brantome: and Francis the Firſt made his grandſon, the ſon of Henry the Second, knight at the font. In like manner the Chevalier Bayard, when at Moulins, viſited the Duke of Bourbon, who honoured and careſſed him, and beſought him to make his eldeſt ſon a knight, who was yet in his nurſe's and governeſs's care; ſaying, "It was the greateſt honour that his ſon could

receive

receive in the world; and that it would be an augury of good fortune to his future life." The Chevalier Bayard very willingly granted what the Duke desired.

IT was not only to the sons of princes, or on some peculiar occasions, that knighthood was obtained before the age of twenty-one, prescribed by the ancient laws; a peculiar degree of merit and genius in attaining the necessary qualifications, often gained this prize in early life; as was the case of Vidame de Chartres, who received it very young by order of the king; as did Foulques, Count of Anjou, at seventeen, from his uncle Geoffrey. The regular age was, however, twenty-one; for though the minority of the nobles ended at seventeen, because they were then judged strong enough, and sufficiently qualified, for the culture of their lands, the mechanic arts, and commerce, in which they were all employed; yet the profession of arms demanded an ability

and

and ſtrength, not to be acquired till the age of twenty-one; and this extended to thoſe nobles whoſe only profeſſion was a military life: their majority was fixed at that age, as well as the obligation to accept a duel, and the admiſſion to knighthood. Some ſquires deferred accepting this honour, that it might be conferred by ſome knight at a diſtance; others, till they had warred againſt the infidels; and ſome who were of age, deferred the obtaining knighthood, from the great expences it drew on them, and the obligations contracted by the ſolemn oath they were then to take.

WE will now pauſe a moment, and then proceed to the creation of our knight, and to the auguſt ceremony of the tournament.

PART

PART II.

Of the creation of the Knight, and grand ſpectacle of the Tournament.

HAVING viewed the young man in the ſtations of Page and Squire, we will now accompany him to the glorious prize of Knighthood he is on the point of obtaining in the Tournament. But firſt, it will be proper to remark, the rank he holds in the military ſervice, the power it gives him of conferring knighthood on others, and the magnificence of the feaſts at which the auguſt ceremony of Knighthood is celebrated.

THE rank of a knight in battle gave him the ſame pre-eminence as that of a doctor in ſcience. An ancient French manuſcript

nuſcript ſays, " both lords and laws a knight precedes:" But the real ſtate of a knight, was the command of a thouſand men; each knight had this number under him, according to Euſtache Deſchamps—

" *The knight is choſen among a thouſand*
" *as the beſt.*"

And in the Provençal manuſcript of Gerard de Rouſſillon, King Charles concludes his lamentation on the ingratitude of a knight, in theſe terms: " Thus hath he treated me, who have brought him up from childhood, till he was in a ſituation to have a thouſand men under his command."

IT was in the eleventh century the kingdom of France was releaſed from the troubles into which it had been plunged, after the extinction of the ſecond race of its kings. The royal authority began then to be reſpected; ſtatutes were formed;

formed; laws for citizens and the common people were inſtituted; and the fiefs acquired a more regular form and order from the nature of that inveſtiture, acknowledged in the ceremonies and homage of Chivalry: "Its origin (ſays Le Laboureur) appears to take its riſe in theſe fiefs." From political views of the ſovereigns, and of the higher barons, they wiſhed, no doubt, to bind faſter the bonds of feodality, by adding to the ceremony of homage, that of giving arms to their young vaſſals in the firſt expeditions to which they ſhould lead them; and perhaps afterwards, by conferring theſe arms on other perſons, who offered to ſerve them from affection, or the pure deſire of glory, they might acquire new warriors, who ſhould be ready to follow them on every occaſion, not like the feudatories, for a limited portion of time. As every knight had the right of making knights, they ſaw, without jealouſy, their lord paramount make uſe of the power, in the honour of which they

they participated. It is ſaid, in the chronicle of St. Denys, that Philip, the ſon of Philip le Bel, king of France, having, at the feaſt of Pentecoſt, made his three ſons, Lewis, Philip, and Charles, knights, theſe princes conferred this honour on four hundred knights: and Malcolm king of Scotland, who accompanied Henry king of England to the ſiege of Thouloufe, being made a knight by that prince, created on the ſpot thirty other knights.

THERE were ſtronger inducements to be armed a knight, than the ſerving a fief:—The obtaining this honour from the hands of a prince or great lord—the noble feaſts given by the lords to the knights and to their gueſts, at many of which, particularly at the full court held at Rimini, to arm the lords of the houſe of Malateſta, ſo great was the ſplendor, that they counted fifteen hundred comedians and mountebanks aſſembled there—the diſtribution which was made of robes, of

favours,

favours, of coſtly furs, of rich and precious ſtuffs, of ſumptuous mantles, which, lined with theſe coſtly furs, were reſerved ſolely for the knights — the arms, the jewels, and the preſents of every kind, without excepting either gold or ſilver, which were beſtowed in profuſion, and the expence of which, vaſt as it appears, was entirely defrayed by the lord who made the feaſt—in fine, the deſire of appearing worthy of being thus ſignalized—were more powerful motives to theſe new-created knights, than the obligation exacted from thoſe of feudatory rank.

As many writers find a reſemblance between the forms of knighthood and thoſe of feudal inveſtiture; ſo all agree in the ſimilitude between the former and the ceremonies of the church in the adminiſtration of the ſacraments. In the former, the white habit and the bath, anſwered to the forms of baptiſm: the ſtroke on the neck, and the embrace given on being

being made a knight, to the forms uſed in confirmation: and the word 'eſpouſe,' which ſome have uſed to expreſs the dubbing or arming a knight, and the kiſs given him when armed, was the indication of marriage. Chivalry was indeed conſidered as a ſacred ordination and a ſacerdotal engagement; and the knight who entered this order from any temporal view, was judged guilty of ſimony.

As the godfather made preſents to the child whom he held at the font; ſo the lord or knight who conferred knighthood, was to preſent ſome diſtinct gift, and to grant ſome peculiar favour, to the knight he created. This was the cuſtom, ſays Lancelot de Lac; accordingly the knight whom Galead had juſt armed, prayed him to grant to his requeſt, the firſt favour he ſhould aſk; which, in the like caſe, is never refuſed, if the petition is not unreaſonable for the giver, or prejudicial to the receiver. Galead promiſed to comply; and the young knight beſought he would permit him to

be of his train in the expedition on which he was going.

SOME authors have ſo entirely united the prieſthood and knighthood, as to mention, that celibacy was as eſſential to knights as to prieſts. For their juſtification it may be obſerved, that, carried away by a pious zeal, they thought they could not too much exalt an order, to which the preſervation of the Chriſtian faith was confided, and which was calculated to procure ſuch glorious advantages from the defenders of it, to religion, to the ſtate, and to ſociety.

WE will now proceed to the preliminary ceremonies which prepared the knight for the ſacred ſword of Chivalry. Auſtere faſts; whole nights paſſed in prayers with a prieſt and godfather, in the churches or chapels; the ſacraments of penance, confeſſion, and of the euchariſt, received with the utmoſt devotion; bathings, which ſignified

ſignified the purity of manners neceſſary in the ſtate of Chivalry; and white habits, in imitation of the neophytes, or new converts, as another ſymbol of the ſame purity (and this was a cuſtom formerly uſed by the kings and queens of Great-Britain, on the evening of their coronation); a ſincere acknowledgment of all the faults of his life; a ſerious attention to ſermons, in which were explained the principal articles of faith, and of Chriſtian morals:—all theſe duties of preparation were to be performed, in the moſt devout manner, by the young man previous to his being armed.

THE pious cuſtom of paſſing whole nights in prayer (which was called 'the vigil of arms,') had been obſerved, from the remoteſt times, in judiciary duels, or duels of proof. Ademar de Chabannois ſpeaks of a combat of this ſort, in his Latin chronicle—"The victorious champion having received no wound, went on

foot immediately, to return thanks to God at the tomb of St. Cebar, where he had watched the preceding night." And in the order of Chivalry it is ſaid—"When the good knight receives the naked ſword, he kiſſes the croſs as he receives it; by ſome this is done at the holy ſepulchre, for the love and honour of our Lord; by others, at the tomb of St. Catharine, or at other holy places of devotion. The young man then bathes; after which, cloathed in white apparel, he is to watch all night in the church, and remain there in prayer till after the celebration of high maſs. The communion being then received, the young man, with his hands joined and held up towards heaven, to which alſo his eyes were ſolemnly directed, after the prieſt celebrating maſs had paſſed the ſword over his neck and bleſſed it, went and knelt at the feet of the lord who was to arm him. The lord aſked him, 'with what intent he deſired to enter into that ſacred order, and if his

views tended only to the maintenance and the honour of religion and of knighthood?' The young man made a ſuitable reply; and the lord, after having received his oath, gave him the dubbing, or three ſtrokes on the neck with the flat end of the ſword, and girded on him the golden ſword. This auguſt ſcene paſſed ſometimes in a hall, or in the court of a palace or a caſtle, or, in time of war, in the open field."

THE deſire of riches, of repoſe, and of being honoured, were eſteemed not only inſufficient, but unworthy motives in this ſacred engagement. The ſquire who was vain-glorious, or a flatterer, was alſo excluded; for ſuch foment thoſe corruptions, which the knight is engaged to root out and deſtroy. Nor were any to be admitted into this order, who were lame, or who had any other corporal defect or weakneſs, which ſhould render him unqualified for the profeſſion of arms, however rich,

noble, or courageous he might otherwiſe be. The figure, air, and phyſiognomy, were conſidered as of great import; and that ſtrength of conſtitution that ſhould enable the knight to exert himſelf, with ardour, for the maintenance of good order, wherever he was ſtationed, by a laborious attention to, and expertneſs in all the works relative to war: he was alſo enjoined, on immediate notice from his prince, to be ready to go forth to puniſh or appeaſe the diſcords of the people. Agreeable to this, Perceforeſt relates, that king Peleon, when he armed his ſons and his nephews knights, ſpake thus to them: "Whoever will enter into any ſacred order, whether that of religion, of marriage, or of knighthood, ought firſt to purge his conſcience, and cleanſe his heart from every vice, and fill and adorn it with every virtue; and charge himſelf with the greateſt care to accompliſh every thing he is commanded to do in the profeſſion he takes

takes upon him: in one word, he muſt be without reproach."

WHEN the Duke of Burgundy, ſays Monſtrelet, held the feaſt of the Golden Fleece, the Duke of Alençon got a knight to aſſiſt at it in his place, being himſelf a priſoner, from a decree given againſt him; and though at this aſſembly there ought to have been no knights, or proxies for knights, but ſuch as were without reproach, the Duke of Burgundy ſuffered it, becauſe he believed the Duke of Alençon a man of honour, unjuſtly condemned, and to whoſe condemnation he had not given his conſent. Several knights have merited this noble diſtinction, that they were without reproach; ſuch as Du Gueſclin, Barbaſan, Louis de la Trimouille, Bayard, and the brave Chevalier d'Aumont, who died in 1595; to whom M. de Thou renders this glorious teſtimony: "He was ſo highly eſteemed in the parties both of the king and of the league,

that if it had been now a queſtion to find a knight without reproach, as it was in the days of our forefathers, all the world would have caſt their eyes on the brave and virtuous Aumont."

THE ladies and young gentlewomen ſometimes aſſiſted at the arming of a knight. "A knight going to the combat (ſays Don Flores of Greece) was armed by a young lady, who with her delicate hands faſtened and laced on his armour; you may gueſs how patiently he demeaned himſelf in receiving this ſignal favour from her, in whom his life was wrapped up."

THE manner of arming was, firſt to put on the ſpurs, then the coat of mail, the cuiraſs, the braſſets, and the gantelets; and then the lord or knight gave the dubbing, and girded on the ſword, in the manner above related: the laſt was the moſt

moſt honourable badge of Chivalry, and a ſymbol of the labour the knight was to encounter. As the young Lancelot had been forgotten among the great number who received the ſword from the hand of king Artus, the Queen beſtowed one on him, and he then became a knight, and the champion of that princeſs. The lord or knight, on the girding on of the ſword, pronounced theſe words, or ſome that were ſimilar:—"In the name of God, of St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee knight;" to which were ſometimes added, "be brave, hardy, and loyal." Saintre going to combat againſt the infidels in Pruſſia, prayed the king of Bohemia to grant him knighthood in the name of God, our Lady, and my Lord of St. Denys. There was yet wanting, to complete the equipage of a knight, the helmet, the ſhield, and the lance; which they gave him: then they brought a horſe, which he mounted often without the

the help of a ſtirrup. To ſhew off his new dignity and ſkill, he curveted round, darting his lance, and brandiſhing his gliſtering ſword; ſoon after which he paraded, in the ſame equipage, in one of the public ſquares, that it might be known to all he was made a knight according to the order of Chivalry: and to inſpire him with a higher ſenſe of the character he was about to ſuſtain, and a dread of committing any evil that ſhould ſully and diſgrace it, he was to make a circuit round the city, and ſhew himſelf to the people as their guardian and defender.

PERCEFOREST gives a ſtriking picture of a young man, whom the king Alexander had juſt made a knight, and who was then left alone at the entrance of a foreſt. "He looked up and down, and thought within himſelf, "It is a fine thing to be made a knight!" and he curveted his horſe, ſtretched out his ſtirrup, cloſed his ſhield to his ſide, and ſought to be familiar

familiar with his new arms, he then takes out his ſword, and begins to turn it round and round, and point it as in a fencing-bout, or trial of ſkill, fetching a compaſs as at a tournament, and ſaying to himſelf, "Now my joy would be compleat, if I could but find one to tilt with, that I might ſee if I could bear proof." After this he boldly ſpurs his horſe, and bounds round the foreſt ſo joyous, and ſo ardently deſirous of a jouſt, that if he had not feared he ſhould ſhiver his lance in pieces, he would have tilted at the firſt tree he came to: and thus circuited he the foreſt till the time of the evening veſpers." And in another place, "As ſoon as the king had made them knights they mounted, all armed as they were, on their horſes, their ſhields pendent from their necks, and their ſwords graſped in their hands. In this manner they ſpurred their horſes round the meadow ſo cleverly and briſkly, that the king, and Caſſiel the ſultan, and the knights who were preſent, declared,

none could ſhew themſelves more expert in feats of arms.

CHIVALRY was one of the three orders belonging to the ſtate. According to Jouvencal, "the knight was to the body politic, what the arms are to the human body:—the church," ſays he, "is the head of the man; Chivalry is her arms; and the citizens, merchants, and labourers, are his inferior members:—the arms," ſays he, "are placed in the middle, to render them equally capable of defending the head or the church, from whom they derive their power, and the inferior members, (whoſe judges they alſo are by the adminiſtration of juſtice) and who contribute to their nouriſhment."

IT appears, that the creation of a knight was at the ſame time celebrated by the acclamations of the people; who eagerly fought, by leaping and dances formed around him, to expreſs the joy they felt at the

the acquiſition of a new benefactor: and at the creation of ſeveral knights together, they poſſibly united to caracole in meaſure, and to mix their dances with thoſe of the people who ſurrounded them; and this might be the origin of thoſe feſtivals or ballets on horſeback, of which there are ſome examples in the hiſtory of France, and which were danced at the court, in the time of Brantome and of Baſſompierre, who give a very minute account of theſe feſtivals or ballets, as danced before Henry the Fourth.——All theſe ceremonies, accompanied with prayers and forms, which are ſtill to be found in the ancient rituals of France, though they were ſubject, at different periods, to augmentations and retrenchments, yet evidently ſhew what idea was attached to the inſtitution of a knight, and what means they employed to make him feel the extent and the ſanctity of his engagement; which he could never violate without rendering himſelf guilty of perjury and ſacrilege.

It

It may be preſumed alſo, of the piety of the ancient knights, that they ſilently renewed their vow at the great feaſts, perhaps whenever they went to maſs; and that ſtanding up when the goſpel was read or ſung, they took the ſword into their hand, and held it with the point upward, to mark the continual diſpoſition they were in to defend the faith. It is, without doubt, from this ceremony, that the emperors, at certain feaſts, held their naked ſwords in their hands while they ſung the goſpel; and this pious cuſtom ſtill ſubſiſts among the Poliſh gentlemen.

INDEPENDENT of the defence of religion, its temples, and its miniſters, to which the knights devoted even life itſelf, the other laws of Chivalry contained in the oath of reception, might have been adopted by the wiſeſt legiſlators, and the greateſt philoſophers of every age and nation. In virtue of theſe laws, widows, orphans, and all thoſe of either ſex that were pow-

erleſs,

erleſs, ill at eaſe, and groaning under oppreſſion and injuſtice, had a right to claim the protection of a knight, and to exact for their defence, not only the ſuccour of his arm, but the ſacrifice of his life. And to ſhrink from this obligation, was to fail in paying the moſt ſacred debt; it was to incur diſhonour for the reſt of his days.

Of all the laws of Chivalry, none was maintained with ſuch vigour among the French nobility, as regard to women; they had peculiar privileges granted them. Without arms to maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, deſtitute of the means to prove their innocence if attacked, they would have been often diſtreſſed witneſſes of their fortune and their lands becoming the prey of a neighbouring unjuſt and tyrannical lord, or their reputation ſinking under the load of calumny, if the knights had not been always ready to arm in their defence. It was even a capital point of their

their inſtitution, never to cenſure any lady themſelves, nor to ſuffer any to be guilty of ſuch an offence in their preſence. "If an honeſt and virtuous lady," ſays Brantome, "will maintain her firmneſs and conſtancy, her ſervant muſt not even ſpare his life to protect and defend her, if ſhe runs the leaſt riſk either of her fortune or honour, or of any cenſorious word: thus have I ſeen in our court, ſeveral who have ſilenced with a word the back-biter of their ladies and miſtreſſes: and ſo it becometh us to do, for we are bound, by the laws of Chivalry, to be the champion of their afflictions." This right of the ladies was, however, to be conditional, and ſuppoſed that their conduct did not render them, in any degree or point of reputation, unworthy of that aſſociation which united them to an order ſolely founded on honour. "A princeſs," ſays Tirant le Blanc, "declares, that ſhe ſubmits to loſe all right to the benefits of Chivalry, and conſents, that never any knight

knight ſhould take arms in her defence, if ſhe keeps not the promiſe of marriage ſhe has given to the knight who adored her." And this union of fame between the knights and the ladies, was a new bond on the latter to preſerve, with the moſt precious care, thoſe pure and worthy diſpoſitions, and that refinement of manners, which the knights exacted ſcrupulouſly from them; and this was a ſolid advantage that Chivalry conferred on ſociety. A young gentlewoman, whoſe defence was undertaken by Gerard de Nevers, beholding the ardour with which he engaged in it, took off her glove of waiting, and delivered it to Gerard, (who very willingly received it) ſaying to him, "Sir, my perſon, my life, my lands, and my honour, I depoſit in the care of God and of you; to whom I pray God to give ſuch aſſiſtance and grace, that I may be delivered from this peril."

IF negligence in acquitting himſelf of the duty he owed to oppreſſed or offended individuals, was of itſelf a ſufficient reproach, with what infamy muſt the knight be overwhelmed, if he failed to exert himſelf in war with the energy due to his prince and his country? Born a judge, by his condition of knight, of all his peers, that is to ſay, of all thoſe who in the rank of fiefs were his equals; and ſuperior judge of his vaſſals; he would not be more diſhonoured in his tribunal, by judgments againſt the laws of equity, than in the field of battle, by actions contrary to the laws of war. In the deſcription of Foulque, nephew of Gerard, is ſummed up all the qualities of an accompliſhed, brave, and virtuous knight: "He is," ſays Gerard, "courageous, affable, frank, gentle, and eloquent; he is equally ſkilled in hunting in woods and in rivers (meaning the exerciſes of falconry, fiſhing, and purſuing beaſts of prey or game); he is expert in playing at

cheſs

chefs, draughts, and dice; he is eager to expand his heart, and to diffuſe his wealth, to all who approach him; and even, without partiality or limitation, to all the world!—the declared enemy of injuſtice, and of all who dare to be its patrons. The being unable to redreſs wrongs, is his ſole cauſe of grief: if this ever happens, he is inconſolable; nor will he ever put an end to his court, till he has confirmed the equity of his private judgments in the public liſts."

IN a diſpute between three Troubadours, it was conſidered, whether the qualities of equity, generoſity, and valour, muſt be given each diſtinctly to a different knight, or combined. The reſult was, that, to form a perfect knight, all the tender offices of humanity ſhould be united to the greateſt valour, and the ſoft emotions of pity and generoſity to the afflicted, aſſociated with the ſtricteſt juſtice and integrity of heart.——To ſum up all, the knight muſt be a judge of his feudatories, a protector of his vaſſals, a

defender of the oppreſſed, and a father of the inhabitants who live in his domains, and of whom he is the liege lord.

No other *human* laws inforced, as Chivalry did, ſweetneſs and modeſty of temper, and that politeneſs which the word *courteſy* was meant perfectly to expreſs. Such is to be the modeſty of the knight, that he is to aſcribe every thing to the hand of God, and praiſe him alone, for the noble acts he is enabled to perform; vain-glory and high conceit of any deed, is conſidered as a vice which extinguiſhes the merit of the knight, and renders him unworthy the rewards and benefits of Chivalry. Agreeable to theſe principles, king Artus, in his inſtructions to his knights, ſpeaks thus to them: "I call to mind what a hermit ſaid to me on a time, to chaſtiſe my vanity. 'If you had as many kingdoms as king Alexander, as much ſenſe as the wiſe Solomon, and as exalted valour as the brave Hector of Troy; pride alone, if that reigns in you, will ruin all.' Guard againſt this vice, which brings

with it a whole legion of vices, in its train!"

NOR did any other human law inſiſt, with ſo much force as that of Chivalry, on the neceſſity of inviolable adherence to truth, and horror of deceit and lies. Adherence to their word was the hereditary virtue of the French, and was anciently eſteemed the moſt honourable part of their character, even in the judgment of the Romans their enemies: and Tacitus thus celebrates the fidelity, as well as the bravery, of the Germans, their anceſtors: "No nation exceeds the Germans in valour and in truth." And this eulogy ought not to be ſuſpected, in a writer who reproaches them, in another place, with their exceſſive love of play. "Even without having drunk, ſtrange as it appears, they make a ſerious occupation of the game of dice, and give themſelves up to it with ſo much fury, that after having gamed away all they

have, they finish by staking themselves: in one single throw they risk their person and liberty; and he who loses, suffers himself to be bound, and sold for a slave: though younger and stronger perhaps than his antagonist, he embraces destruction, saying, "I *must* keep the promise I have made;"—to such a pitch did they carry this virtue of integrity, in the midst of that insatiable passion for gaming, which brought on their ruin.

In the examples and precepts of the antient Roman writers, truth is every where recommended. "King Artus," says Lancelot de Lac, "having given his word to a knight, to make him a present of the queen his wife, would neither listen to the lamentations of this princess, nor to any representations that could be made him; he only replied, 'I have promised, and a king cannot go from his word: whoever will be a king, let him be an honest man.' The queen was accordingly delivered

delivered to the knight, to acquit the king of the promiſe he had given."

AN oath given in the name of a knight, was, of all oaths, the moſt inviolable. The knights taken in war, engaged to come, of their own accord, to priſon, whenever it ſhould be required; and on their word of honour, they were readily allowed liberty for the time they aſked it. No one doubted their fulfilling their engagements, as punctual as Regulus fulfilled his; or believed that any pain or diſtreſs would intimidate them, where their oath was concerned. And ſovereigns conſidered themſelves to be as ſtrictly bound by the oath of knighthood, as if they had ſworn by their crown, which they held indeed from Chivalry. "Duke Jehan, of Bretagne, having treated of peace with king Charles the Sixth, ſwore to the obſervance of the treaty, by the faith of his body and the loyalty of his knighthood." But there cannot be a more perfect view

of their fidelity, than in the example related by Joinville, in the recital of the misfortunes which befel the Chriſtian army, and the impriſonment of St. Louis the king. "Deplorable," ſays he, "was the condition to which the queen his wife was reduced: informed of her misfortunes, given up to deſpair, and to ſuch terrifying ideas as would not ſuffer her to cloſe her eyes, and expecting every moment would bring on her the pangs of child-birth. In this dreadful ſituation, when ſhe was on the point of falling alive into the hands of the infidels, ſhe takes her laſt reſolve; ſhe throws herſelf at the feet of an ancient knight, aged above fourſcore years, and conjures him, on his word, to grant her one requeſt. The old man promiſes, and plights to her his oath. 'Cut off my head then,' ſaid ſhe, 'before the Saracens can ſeize my perſon, if they ſhould become maſters of this city of Damiette, in which I am now ſhut up.' The reply of the knight is a proof of the obligation

obligation by which, in Chivalry, he was bound to preſerve female honour in every ſituation, even with the loſs of life. 'Very willingly will I perform your requeſt,' he replied, 'which I thought indeed to have done of myſelf, if the caſe ſhould ſo require it.'

IF ſuch care of the reputation of ladies in general, and in public caſes, was obſerved, it was the moſt capital crime againſt the oath of knighthood, to attempt the honour of any lady or miſtreſs in private and ſocial life; and if ſuch attempt was made by a knight on the wife of his lord, it was irremiſſible: and if a knight was even informed that the conduct of a lady was reproachable, he was to make it known to his lord; and he was eſteemed criminal himſelf, if he concealed it from him. Aggravain diſcovered to king Artus, the wrong done to this prince by Lancelot the ſquire, whom his queen loved; and Mordrec adds to what

what Aggravain had ſaid, "Sir knight, we have concealed it from you as long as we could, but at laſt it was neceſſary the truth ſhould be made known; and by ſo long concealing it we are perjured; we therefore free ourſelves from this perjury, and tell you plainly, that as we have ſaid, ſo indeed it is."

IN the Colombiere are to be ſeen the twenty-ſix articles of the oath taken by the knights; among which is to be remarked particularly, that which obliged them, at the return from their expeditions, to give an exact and faithful account of all the adventures, ſucceſsful or unfortunate, honourable or degrading, they had met with; which were all to be inſerted in the relations of the heralds or officers at arms. The recital of their ſucceſs animated the courage of the other knights; the account of their humiliation conſoled in idea, thoſe who might fear to experience the ſame fate, and taught them never

to encourage deſpair. It was a means alſo of maintaining and improving, in the hearts and minds of theſe knights, the love of truth, the only ſolid baſis of every virtue.

If this love of truth has not deſcended to the French nation in later times, with all the purity of the golden age of knighthood, it has produced at leaſt ſuch a diſdain for thoſe who infringe it, that the Lie has been always conſidered as the moſt fatal and irreparable affront that a man of honour could receive. And this love of truth is not perhaps the only trace of virtue that Chivalry has left in the manners and cuſtoms of that nation: it would have been happy, if they had not carried this, and other virtues, to a pernicious exceſs of delicacy and punctilio, which, in their origin, had thoſe great objects ſolely in view, the public good, and the ſervice of their king. From the precepts included in the oath of Chivalry, branch forth all thoſe morals

morals ſpread throughout the works of the ancient French poets and romance writers. In a very ancient manuſcript, called, The Romance of the Wings, the poet feigns, 'That the proweſs of the knight is borne upon two wings, which are eſſential to his fame, and without which he cannot extend his flight, and nobly ſoar on high. Theſe two wings are Liberality and Courteſy; each is adorned with ſeven plumes, which are the ſigns of the different conditions or modifications of theſe virtues, as eſſential as proweſs itſelf to the reputation of a good knight. Chivalry (adds the poet) is the fountain of all goodneſs, and it can never be exhauſted; from God it comes, and the knights over whom it flows from head to foot, are its ſole poſſeſſors; they hold thoſe ſprings in fief, which water and fertilize the reſt of the world.'

BUT the poets and romance writers, *who were the echos of the hiſtorians*, were not

the

the only teſtimonies in the praiſe of knighthood: the Biſhop of Auxerre, an illuſtrious prelate, in the holy place, in preſence of all the court, having officiated pontifically at the obſequies that Charles the Sixth made for the brave Du Gueſclin, nine years after the death of this conſtable; in the funeral oration on this hero, repreſents the duties of a true knight, in which are the following lines, in the relation preſerved by the monk of St. Denys, the moſt authentic hiſtorian of the reign of Charles the Sixth.—" The Biſhop took for his theme or text, 'His fame is gone abroad through all the earth!' And he ſhewed, by the recital of his great exploits in arms and in war, by his trophies and his triumphs, that Du Gueſclin was the moſt perfect image of knighthood; and that the title of the 'truly brave,' was given only to thoſe who, like him, had been equally ſignalized in valour and in probity. He paſſed from thence to the qualities of a true knight;

and

and ſhewed, by its origin and inſtitution, that Chivalry was not more neceſſary for the defence, than the political government of the ſtate, and that it was an order that obliged to great duties, as well to the king as to the public. He then exhorted all the knights preſent to ſerve their ſovereign with perfect ſubmiſſion; and declared, that it was only by his order, and for his ſervice, they were to take up arms; and that there was as much virtue and honour required, as valour and experience, to merit, in their profeſſion, the grace of God and the eſteem of men."—The primitive diſcipline of ancient Chivalry was, however, greatly relaxed at this time; nor were the wiſeſt regulations capable of ſtopping the progreſs of this corruption.

THE deſire of raiſing Chivalry to its former ſtate, was the origin of the order of knights of the Star, created by King John in 1351: "After God (ſays he) it was to the

the virtue and valour, the unanimity and fidelity of the ancient knights, that the former kings, my predeceſſors, owed their triumphs over their enemies;—who in the cruſades, as it were by a miracle, brought over a prodigious number of infidels to the Catholic faith, and who reſtored a ſinking ſtate to peace and tranquillity, in which it long after continued." But the inaction and luxury of pacific times, and the interruption and neglect of military exerciſes, cauſed the decay of Chivalry; the knights gave themſelves up to ſupineneſs and eaſe, and forgetting the care of their honour and reputation, ſought only their private intereſt.

KING John, by this new foundation, eſtabliſhed in the church of St. Ouin, ſought to detach the knights from frivolous occupations, and to revive that happy concord, ſo fruitful of advantages to them, and the baſis of their fame and triumph: thus he hoped to reſtore the honour and

ſplendour

ſplendour of ancient Chivalry. But theſe efforts of the king, though they were continued by his ſon Charles the Fifth, could not prevent its declining; and the hiſtorian of St. Denys, after a curious recital of the knighthood conferred by Charles the Sixth, at St. Denys, in 1389, on the young King of Sicily and the Count of Maine, refers to this when he ſays—"theſe princes, who were brothers, appeared to celebrate the vigil of arms in habits as modeſt as uncommon, that they might preſerve the ancient cuſtoms of the noviciates in Chivalry, which obliged them to appear in the ſimple dreſs of ſquires:" and then, giving an account of their equipage—"all this (adds he) appeared extraordinary to many, becauſe few there were who knew that this ſimplicity of induction was indiſpenſable in the ancient ceremonies of knighthood."

BY theſe laws, as the knight was obliged to be moſt exact in his manners and conduct towards

towards women; ſo thoſe ladies who wiſhed to be reſpected, were obliged to reſpect themſelves, being then ſure they would never fail in receiving the regard that was their due; but if, by an oppoſite conduct, they gave cauſe for juſt reproach, they had all the reaſon in the world to fear they ſhould meet with knights who would take a diligent cognizance of their offences. The Chevalier de la Tour, in an addreſs on education to his daughters, towards the year 1371, in Charles the Fifth's reign, makes mention of a knight of his time, who paſſing by a caſtle marked with ſigns of infamy, as the manſion of thoſe ladies who were not worthy to receive loyal knights according to the laws of honour and virtue, from which they had miſerably departed, gives the juſt eulogy to thoſe who merit the public eſteem:— "It was now (ſays he) a time of peace, and there were great feaſtings and rejoicings continually; and all orders of knights, of ladies, and young gentlewomen,

aſſembled at theſe entertainments; and here the good knights of this time were in great honour. But if it chanced that any lady or gentlewoman of bad fame or ſlender honour, ſeated herſelf near a good lady or a young gentlewoman of fair renown, though ſhe was the genteeleſt, or the moſt noble, or the richeſt lady, either by lineage or marriage, theſe good knights thought it no ill manners to make uſe of their authority on this occaſion: they took the good lady and ſet her above the bad, ſaying to the latter before all the aſſembly, — 'Lady, let it not diſpleaſe you that this lady, or this gentlewoman, is placed before you; for though ſhe is not noble or rich as you are, ſhe is innocent, and is therefore exalted to the rank of the good; but this ſay they not of you, which it grieves me to find true; wonder not, therefore, at this diſtinction, for honour muſt be given, where honour is deſerved.' Thus ſpake the good knight, and placed the worthy and exalted in

fame

fame in the higheſt place; at which ſhe *humbly* rejoiced, and thanked God that ſhe had preſerved a pure heart, and been held worthy of honour: and the other put her hands before her face, held down her head, and ſuffered great ſhame: and this was a good example to all gentle ladies; for from the reproach that followed to the bad, they the more feared to do ill themſelves. Some ladies have ſaid on hearing this (adds the Chevalier) 'that, thank God! in theſe times, whether ladies are good or bad, it is all the ſame thing; and that the defamed are as much honoured as the worthy:' but it is not ſo; for though in their preſence ſome in this age may ſhew civility to ſuch, yet when out of ſight, they are jeered at and reviled: but I think this is ill done, and that it would be more honeſt to ſhew them their faults openly, as they did in the times I have ſpoken of. The ſame knight (adds the Chevalier) who watched over the general polity with ſo much ſtrictneſs, having

perceived a young nobleman in an aſſembly, who by his abſurd and unſeemly dreſs, would have been taken for a jongleur or minſtrel, obliged him to go back and get other cloaths more ſuitable to his birth and condition: ſo great was the authority conferred by the title of knight. And I have heard ſeveral perſons ſay, that they ſaw the ſaid knight Geoffrey, who told them, that when he rode about the country, and ſaw the caſtle or manor of any lady, he always enquired whoſe it was; and when they told him it belonged to ſuch or ſuch a lady, if her character was blameable in point of honour, he would ſooner have gone half a league round, than enter the threſhold of her door; but he took out a ſmall croſs which he wore, and marked the door with a ſignet of infamy, and then turned his horſe away from it. On the contrary, when he paſſed the manſion of a lady or young gentlewoman of fair renown, if he was not in too great haſte, he came to

ſee,

ſee, gave her a chearful ſalutation, and ſaid to her, 'My good friend, or my good lady, I pray God that he will ever maintain you in this wealth and this honour, among the number of the good, and to him be the praiſe and the glory.' I wiſh (concludes the Chevalier de la Tour) this time was again returned, for I think there would not then be ſo many cenſured as there are at preſent."

THE moſt common and frequent occaſions on which knights were made, independent of thoſe which happened in war, were at the great feaſts of the church, above all at the feaſt of Pentecoſt, when a great number of royal youths, the ſons and brothers of kings, from the reign of Philip Auguſtus to that of Philip le Bel, received the gift of knighthood; and Henry the Third, ſince that time, choſe the ſame feaſt for the inſtitution of the order of the Holy Ghoſt: alſo at the publications of peace or truce, the corona-

tion of kings, the birth or baptiſm of princes of royal houſes, and the days on which theſe princes had themſelves received knighthood. Louis the Fourteenth followed this ancient cuſtom, in the year 1661, when he made a promotion of knights of that order, on occaſion of the birth of the dauphin. On thoſe days alſo which were the inveſtitures of ſome great fiefs, on the betrothings and marriages of theſe princes, and their entries into the principal cities of their government. In 1238 they made knights at Compiegne, on the marriage of Robert, the eldeſt brother of St. Louis; and at Saumur, in 1241, at the marriage of Alphonſo, his ſecond brother.—Charles the Eighth made a magnificent entry into Naples, and the noble and beautiful ladies of the city and the country came through the ſtreets and ſquares of the city, attended by their children, and were ſo richly ornamented from head to foot, that there was nothing to be ſeen, even in

France,

France, to compare with them for ſplendour, beauty, and elegance of dreſs. Theſe ladies, as they paſſed along, preſented to the king their young children, and beſought him to confer on them, with his own hand, the order of knighthood; reputing this the higheſt honour and beſt fortune that could be beſtowed on them; which the king could not refuſe to ſuch tender and beautiful petitioners.—The moſt important acts of princes could not be celebrated in a more ſuitable manner, as they were the natural chiefs of knighthood; and no circumſtances could be choſen more proper, to give a luſtre to the reception of the new-made knights.

In the time of peace, the dreſs and the ceremonial of theſe promotions was more regular and magnificent; the knights unemployed in war, for which they waited with impatience, had no other means of teſtifying their acknowledgment for the favour of knighthood, than by giving the

princes, their benefactors, a lively image of war, by the ſpectacles of the tournaments; theſe therefore almoſt always ſucceeded their new dignity, and in them they ſignalized, with an ardent emulation, their ſkill, their ſtrength, and their valour. Henry the Fifth king of England having married the daughter of Charles the Sixth king of France, being ſolicited by the French and Engliſh knights to celebrate his marriage by jouſts and tournaments, according to the ancient cuſtom; he refuſed this honour, that he might employ his arms in a more uſeful manner; ſaying, "I requeſt Monſieur the king, whoſe daughter I have eſpouſed, and I command all her ſervants, and my ſervants, that to-morrow morning they all hold themſelves in readineſs to ſit down before the city of Sens, wherein are the enemies of Monſieur the king; and there let each one of us jouſt and tilt, and ſhew his ſtrength and his valour; for the moſt laudable and perfect proweſs in

the world, is that of doing juſtice on the bad, that the poor people may live in peace." To which King Charles and every one conſented; and they did on the morrow as had been agreed.

IT is eaſy to imagine what emotion was produced in all hearts, by the proclamation of theſe ſolemn tournaments, long before announced in the moſt pompous terms; they animated all the knights and ſquires in each province or canton, and in each court, to make other tournaments, wherein, by all kinds of exerciſes, they might prepare themſelves for appearing on a greater theatre: private gentlemen, inſtead of reſting idle in their caſtles, repeated daily among each other theſe exerciſes, that they might be capable of obtaining the rewards promiſed in the high tournaments, where they ſhould have for ſpectators the flower of every court in Europe. In Germany, we learn by Tacitus, the intrepidity and agility which

were

were ſhewn in the tournaments, where they are ſtill practiſed: but Nithard, the nephew of Charlemagne, has given a more exact view of the wiſdom and the modeſty which tempered the activity and the ardour of theſe combats, and a touching and curious deſcription of the union, in which Lewis of Germany and Charles his brother lived after the treaty of peace which ſucceeded the battle of Fontenoy in 842:—"Theſe princes were continually making preſents to each other, to teſtify their mutual affection; they had only one houſe, that they might never be ſeparate; and ſuch was their congeniality of diſpoſition, that the amuſements and employments of the one, were the amuſements and employments of the other: they aſſiſted together at the exerciſes of their different ſubjects, who in equal number performed them in the midſt of a prodigious multitude of ſpectators: each party charged in theſe combats with ſo much fury, that they appeared to be mortal enemies;

mies; till the vanquiſhed, covering themſelves with their bucklers, were obliged to make a precipitate retreat; ſoon after which, recovering breath, and reſuming their ardour, they faced about, and obliged the other party to fly in their turn; at laſt the two kings advanced on horſeback, with all their young nobility, and, with loud ſhouts, brandiſhing their glittering javelins and lances, charged ſometimes one party, ſometimes the other; and it was worthy of admiration, that the dignity and caution of this numerous multitude, compoſed of ſo many different nations, was ſuch (rarely ſeen in the ſmalleſt number of friends) that not an offenſive word or action paſſed in the whole aſſembly."

IT is natural here to recall what Herodotus ſays concerning the Olympic games: "Some deſerters from Arcadia having, in the preſence of Xerxes, made a recital of the combats which were celebrating in Greece, at the very time that three hundred Spartans ſtopped the Perſian army at the

the ſtrait of Thermopylæ; a Perſian lord, ſtanding by Xerxes, cried out (with a voice that ſeemed to tremble for the fate of his nation) What men are we about to engage with! inſenſible to intereſt, their ſole motive is glory!"—In like manner, when the ambaſſador of the Ottoman empire, who aſſiſted at the tournaments in France, under Charles the Seventh, made report of them to the Sultan and thoſe preſent, they made a ſimilar impreſſion on his countrymen.

THE invention of the tournaments is aſcribed to Geoffrey Preuilli, who died in 1066. From the French courts they paſſed into thoſe of England and Germany; introduced in the latter, it is ſaid, by Henry the Fowler. And from the Byzantine hiſtory we learn, that the people of the Eaſt adopted them from the French, who have always diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe exerciſes above all other nations, to the time of Brantome; who ſays (ſpeaking

ing of the departure of Charles the Eighth of Naples) "this noble king left his kingdom in peace, and gave to the lords and the ladies of that kingdom many pleaſures, paſtimes, and magnificent tournaments, according to the cuſtom of France, and in which Charles the Eighth was the firſt diſtinguiſhed for the elegance of his mien and the ſkill of his arms."

WHILE they were preparing the liſts deſtined for the tournaments, they exhibited through the cloiſters of ſome neighbouring monaſteries, the armorial ſhields of thoſe who deſigned to enter the liſts. It was the ancient cuſtom to carry the coats of arms, helmets, &c. into the monaſtery before the tournaments began; and to offer up at the church, after the victory was gained, the arms and the horſes with which they had fought: the former was done that they might be viewed by the lords, the ladies, and the young gentlewomen, to ſatisfy their curioſity; and a herald

herald or purſuivant at arms named to the ladies the perſons to whom each belonged; and if amongſt theſe pretenders there was found any one of whom a lady had cauſe to complain, either for ſpeaking ill of her, or for any other fault or injury, ſhe touched the helmet or the ſhield of theſe arms to demand juſtice, and ſignifying, that ſhe recommended her cauſe to the judges of the tournaments. Theſe, after having gained the neceſſary information, were to pronounce ſentence; and if the crime had been judicially proved, the puniſhment followed immediately.

As by the laws of Chivalry it was ordained, that nobles alone were to be admitted to the tournaments, they alſo made enquiry into the rank and condition of thoſe who preſented themſelves, in the ſame manner as was practiſed, in the time of St. Chryſoſtom, in the combats of the Circus. The Agonothete demanded, in a loud voice, if any one could ſay, that he who

who offered at the combat was a ſlave? in which caſe he was to be rejected. Thoſe knights alſo, who, in the examination of their lives and manners, were adjudged guilty of adultery or incontinence, were puniſhed. If any one, thus degraded, preſented himſelf nevertheleſs at the liſts, the other knights chaſtiſed him; and ſometimes the ladies themſelves joined in the contempt and puniſhment thus inflicted for his temerity, and taught him better to reſpect their honour and the laws of Chivalry. The beſeeching their mercy, with a loud and fervent ſupplication, was the only means of obtaining pardon for the criminal. The inſtrument by which the knight was corrected, was a ſort of ſwitch, or gantlope, which Euſtache Deſchamps calls, 'the branch of the tournament.'

IT would be endleſs to enter minutely on the deſcription of the liſts for the tournament, or the places for theſe

martial exerciſes; ſome of which were erected in cities, before palaces or great houſes. Sauval, in his hiſtory of Paris, ſpeaks of liſts ſet up at the palace of the Louvre, at the hotel of St. Paul, and other places in Paris, which belonged to the princes of the blood and the great officers of the crown: and the privilege of having barriers placed before ſuch great houſes, which ſtill continues, originated from the honour due to thoſe alone who were able to give at their hotels the grand ſpectacles of jouſts and tournaments.

WHEN the tournaments were exhibited in the open fields, the plains were covered over with tents and ſuperb pavilions; ſcaffolds were erected round the courſe, where the multitude of brave and noble knights were to ſignalize themſelves; and they engaged in the jouſts or combats of lances; theſe were between two perſons only. The caſtilles, or repreſentation of the attack and defence of towers and caſtles, which, from the ardour with which they

engaged

engaged in them, were often attended with fatal conſequences, as in that at Milan, before king Lewis the Twelfth, who was obliged to uſe all his authority to ſeparate the combatants, many of whom were caſt from the ramparts, covered with blood, into the moat that ſurrounded the caſtle, and almoſt ſuffocated. And in 1546, the court of France paſſing the winter at Rocheguion, amuſed themſelves with making caſtilles, which they attacked and defended with balls of ſnow; but diviſions ariſing among the chiefs, they became heated in reality, "and in the conteſt," ſays M. de Thou, "the duke d'Enguien loſt his life." And the ſame author relates, "That in 1606, M. de Roſni had a caſtille or fortreſs of wood run up in haſte, on the birth of the dauphin; which was vigorouſly attacked and defended." To theſe were added the pas d'armes, or attack and defence of bridges, defiles, the paſſages of rivers, or any other narrow and important paſs; and

the combats of the throng, wherein multitudes, covered over with armour, engaged together with ſuch clattering and violent motions, that they overthrew one another pell-mell, in the moſt extreme diſorder and confuſion.

ALL theſe different combats were to repreſent all that was done in war. The moſt difficult to ſucceed in, was that of the pas d'armes; this gave riſe to the phraſe, "He is got into a plunge," or "He will find it hard to get out of the briers." S. Julien de Balleure, in his Hiſtoric Medley, makes mention of a pas d'armes which was held, for all comers, in the camp of Attigni, during the truce, by Gabriel de S. Julien, his couſin, and the Sieur de Creſſia, in the place called Crot Madame; and no one was able to make the defenders of this ditch quit the ſpot they defended, whatever ſtratagems were made uſe of.

THE

THE ſcaffolds were often conſtructed in the forms of towers; they were divided into lodges, with diviſions and flights of ſteps; they were decorated with all the poſſible magnificence that rich carpets, ſhowy pavilions and banners, ſilk ſtreamers, and fine cuſhions could give them; and were the places reſerved for the kings, the queens, the princes and princeſſes, for the ladies, the young gentlewomen, and all who compoſed their court: and here were placed the ancient knights, whom a long experience in arms had rendered the moſt competent judges. Theſe venerable old men, whoſe great age would not permit them to diſtinguiſh themſelves as formerly, were affecting ſpectators of a fight in which they had ſignalized themſelves. Touched with the tendereſt eſteem for the valiant youth, they recalled to their minds the memory of their former exploits; and in them

they beheld, with tranſport, the revival of their ancient glory!

THE richneſs of the dreſſes, adorned with precious ſtones, heightened ſtill more the ſplendour of this ſpectacle. Judges decreed to that office, marſhals of the camp, counſellors or aſſiſtants, had, in ſeveral places, marked out for this purpoſe, ſeats, wherein to maintain, in the field of battle, the laws of Chivalry, and of the tournaments, and to give their advice and aſſiſtance to all thoſe who might ſtand in need of it.

A MULTITUDE of kings, heralds, and purſuivants at arms, ſpread over the whole courſe, had their eyes fixed on all the combatants, to give a faithful report of the ſtrokes given and received; they warned the young knights, who made their firſt entrance into the tournament, of what they owed to the nobility of

their

their anceſtors, "Remember," ſaid they, "whoſe ſon thou art, and degenerate not!"

THE heralds received eight pariſis from each knight, to hang up his helmet at the windows under the atchievement of the tournament: and ſometimes at their firſt entrance, their helmet was given to the officer at arms; but with the following diſtinction, marking the pre-eminence of the combat with the lance, over that of the combat with the ſword:—if the knight had paid the helmet for the ſword, he muſt again pay it for the lance; but when once it had been paid for the lance, he was quit for the ſword, and other combats. According to the proverb, "The lance infranchiſes from the ſword, but the ſword delivers not from the lance."

FROM theſe gratuities aroſe the ſhouts and the eulogies beſtowed on the comba-

tants. A crowd of minſtrels, with all ſorts of inſtruments of martial muſic, were alſo at hand, to celebrate the proweſs and valour which ſhould blaze forth on this great day; pages and ſerjeants at arms had orders to repair, with a ready activity, on every ſide, where the ſervice of the liſts called for it, either to give new arms to the combatants, who ſhould have broken them in the engagement, or to keep the populace in order, ſilence, and reſpect. —— "On the place of combat," ſays the Monk of St. Denys, in his Hiſtory of Charles the Sixth, "there arrived three Portugueſe, and three French knights; when the firſt placed themſelves on the ranks, they made obeiſance to the king, who cauſed it to be cried by the heralds at arms, that no one, on pain of loſing his head, ſhould dare to trouble or hinder theſe champions, either by word, geſture, or any other ſign."

THE

THE flouriſh of trumpets announced the arrival of the knights, who, ſuperbly armed and equipped, followed by their ſquires, appeared on horſeback, advancing with ſlow ſteps, and grave and majeſtic countenances. Sometimes the ladies and young gentlewomen led on their noble ſlaves to the ranks by chains, which were faſtened on them, and which they unlooſened only at the edge of the liſts, juſt as they were on the point of ruſhing forth to the combat. The title of ſlave, or ſervant of the lady, was loudly proclaimed on entering into the tournament, in whatever phraſe ſhe directed, in the ſame manner as the vaſſal in war took the watch-word of the lord he ſerved, the knight aſking of her what the cry ſhould be which he ſhould cauſe to reſound for her in the tournament. The knights alſo took the devices and colours of their ladies, as the vaſſals thoſe of their ſovereign lords. Some-

times theſe devices were enigmatical, and only underſtood by the perſons—for whoſe love they were ſo contrived as to be impenetrable to all others. The uſe of theſe devices of love, gave riſe to a fiction in the Arreſta Amorum: "A lover preparing to jouſt, had on armour and dreſs he had contrived in a pleaſant humour, on which he put the device of his lady, and her colours on his houſing, lance, and horſe: when about to depart, and going to the lady to receive her benediction, ſhe feigned ſickneſs, to excuſe herſelf from ſeeing him. The Court of Love condemned the ſaid lady to dreſs, inveſt, and arm the ſaid amorous petitioner, the firſt time he ſhould appear at the tournament, and lead his horſe by the bridle the length of the liſts, one turn, and then deliver to him his lance, ſaying, 'Adieu, my friend, have a good heart—care for nothing—your welfare is prayed for.'

THE knights were often invited to repair to the tournaments, with their ſiſters or other relations, but above all, with their miſtreſſes, or the ladies of their love; and the champions never failed to name theſe in their jouſts, to encourage and animate each other. "The laws afterwards," ſays the author of the life of Cervantes, prefixed to his Don Quixote, "cenſured this as an abuſe;" but it was anciently thought, that theſe badges of honour, conferred by the ladies, could not be obtained but by the nobleſt exploits; and they were conſidered by the wearers as aſſured pledges of victory, and a ſacred bond to do nothing unworthy of the diſtinguiſhed rank conferred by them. The deſire of pleaſing the fair ſex, was indeed the ſoul of theſe tournaments.

IN Perceforeſt there is a lamentation this prince makes to one of his confidants, "That knights dwelling in the boſom of felicity,

felicity, and fullneſs of peace, have abandoned jouſts and tournaments, and all the glorious feats of Chivalry:—Like unto the nightingale," ſays he, "who never ceaſed to ſing with melody and tranſport in the ſervice of his beloved, till ſhe had ſhewn herſelf favourable to his prayers: So the knights, at the ſight of beauty, ſoftneſs, and the enchanting tenderneſs of virgin chaſtity, filled the univerſe with their valour, and echoed the praiſe of their miſtreſſes, till they had diſarmed the rigour of the ladies, whom they thus ſerved: And it was, no doubt," he adds, "a juſt reward of their courage: but if the guerdon of their love had been longer retained in the ſecret armories of their ladies hearts, Chivalry would not ſo ſoon have expired."—"Servants of love," ſays Euſtache Deſchamps, "look fervently up to the exalted ſeats of theſe angels of paradiſe, then ſhall you jouſt with valour, and be honoured and cheriſhed."

AT the tournament held at Milan, in 1507, by Galeas de St. Severin, and other Lombards, King Louis the Thirteenth was there preſent in his royal tent; the ladies in their tents were dreſſed out ſo gorgeouſly, that it was a fairy ſight to behold.

THE favours which the ladies added to the title of Servants of Love, were jewels, enſigns of nobleſſe, ſcarfs, hoods, ſleeves, mantles, bracelets, knots of ribbon; in a word, ſome detached part of their dreſs: ſometimes a piece of work embroidered with their own hands; with which the favoured knight ornamented the top of his helmet, his lance, his ſhield, his coat of arms, or ſome other part of his armour or veſtment. Often in the heat of action, the fate of war cauſed theſe precious pledges to paſs into the hands of the victor, or by other accidents in the fight they were loſt; in which caſe the lady

ſent others to her knight, to conſole him, and to revive his courage. Thus ſhe animated him to revenge his loſs, and to gain, in his turn, the favours which adorned his adverſary, and of which, after the engagement, he was to make her the oblation.

THE Monk of St. Denys, in his hiſtory of Charles the Sixth, after having named ſeveral ladies, who, at the tournament made on the knighthood of the king of Sicily, and his brother, in 1389, marched with the knight to the barriers, "They drew," ſays he, "from their boſoms, ſeveral favours of ribbons and ſilk, to recompenſe the valour of theſe noble champions." And Olivier de la Marche relates, that in a more ſerious, but not a deſperate battle, at the court of Burgundy, in 1445, one of the knights received from his lady a ſleeve of a delicate dove-colour, elegantly embroidered; and

and he faſtened this favour on his left arm, with a tagged point of black and blue, richly garniſhed with diamonds, pearls, and other precious ſtones.

IT ſometimes happened, that the ladies were ſo eagerly employed in ſupplying new favours to the knights, that they almoſt uncloathed themſelves. "At the end of one tournament, the ladies," ſays Perceforeſt, "were ſo ſtripped of their head attire, that the greateſt part of them were quite bare-headed, and appeared with their hair ſpread over their ſhoulders, yellower than the fineſt gold; their robes alſo were without ſleeves; for all had been given to adorn the knights; hoods, cloaks, kerchiefs, ſtomachers, and mantuas. But when they beheld themſelves in this woeful plight, they were greatly abaſhed, till, perceiving every one was in the ſame condition, they joined in laughing at this adventure, and that they

ſhould

ſhould have engaged with ſuch vehemence in ſtripping themſelves of their cloaths from off their backs, as never to have perceived the loſs of them.

IN the Memoirs of the Duke of Orleans, it is related, "that the knights in the laſt age, wore in public theſe favours, but did not always adhere ſo faithfully to the giver as in ancient times; for in 1632, Madame the princeſs of Phalſburg had given to Monſieur de Puylaurent, who was in love with her, a ſword-knot, as a badge of her favour; but he quitted her afterwards to take taſſels for his cravat of the colour of Mademoiſelle de Chimay, in whom he was become intereſted."

THERE is an anecdote of Henry the Fourth, who kept up the character of the ancient knights, by adhering to this cuſtom. Henry always wore, in ſome part of his dreſs, the colours he had gained in his ſerious battles. As he

he was before the town of Dreux, and about to receive the viſit of his good couſin the Ducheſs of Guiſe, to whom he had ſent a paſſport, he went out to meet her; and having conducted her to his own apartment, he ſaid, "My couſin, you ſee the affection I bear you, for it is for love of you I am thus adorned."—"Sire," replied ſhe, ſmiling, "I do not thank you, for I perceive no ſuch fine decorations as thoſe you boaſt of."—"Not perceive them!" ſaid the king; "you do not look then: behold theſe colours (pointing to them in his hat) which I gained at the battle of Coutras, for my part of the booty; the others attached to it, I obtained at the battle of Ivry: would you then, my couſin, wiſh to ſee on me two finer badges of honour and ornament, to prove myſelf well-dreſſed?" Madame de Guiſe, with admirable ſhrewdneſs, replied, "I own it, Sire. You cannot, however, ſhew me a ſingle favour won from Monſieur my huſband."—"No," replied

replied the king, "that could not be, ſince we never met, or attacked each other; had that happened, I know not how it might have been."—"Not know how!" replied, briſkly, Madame de Guiſe; "if he did not attack you, Sire, it was owing to God who guarded you: in good truth, he attacked your generals, and beat them well; witneſs Baron Doué, from whom he gained noble enſigns, and brave marks of honour; this was his triumphal hat, which will be his ornament for ever."

IN the life of Chevalier Bayard, there is an inſtance of this kind, which illuſtrates the beauty of his character. Being declared victor at the tournament of Carignan, in Piedmont, he refuſed, from extreme delicacy, receiving the reward aſſigned him, ſaying, "The honour he had gained was ſolely owing to the ſleeve, which a lady had given him, adorned with a ruby worth a hundred ducats." The ſleeve was brought back to the lady, in

in the preſence of her huſband; who, knowing the admirable character of the chevalier, conceived no jealouſy on this occaſion. "The ruby," ſaid the lady, "ſhall be given to the knight who was the next in feats of arms to the chevalier; but ſince he does me ſo much honour, as to aſcribe his victory to my ſleeve, for the love of him I will keep it all my life."

THE victors not only made offerings to the ladies of ſuch favours, but often of the knights, and their horſes, whom they overthrew. We ought by no means to conſider theſe preſents to the knights as inſignificant marks of affection: they had real uſe; being a means of diſtinguiſhing each knight among the multitude of combatants; and the new ſupply of theſe gifts diſcovered them, in the confuſed heat of the combat, to thoſe who deſired to keep them ever in view.

PERCEFOREST gives a curious deſcription of an artificial peacock, a bird we ſhall ſee in high conſideration, to be wore on the helmet of a knight of the tournament. The top of the helmet was the moſt eminent place on which to attach the favours the knights received from the ladies. From this originate the mantles and creſts in heraldry.

NOT only were the ladies deeply intereſted in theſe noble combatants, but the attention of all the ſpectators was called forth continually towards them; each extraordinary ſtroke of a lance or a ſword was celebrated by the martial ſounds of the minſtrels, and the ſhouts of the heralds; a thouſand ſhrill cries reſounded, with repeated burſts, the name of the victor: the heralds, and the heralds only, uſing this phraſe in their acclamations, "Glory to the ſon of the brave!" "The reaſon of this was," ſays Monſtrelet, "that, as there is no knight in

in the world ſo perfect, but he may commit a fault, which will annihilate, in the public opinion, his other virtues, they never cry, 'Glory to the brave!' but 'to the ſon of the brave!' for no knight can be judged brave, till his term of life is at an end. By this alſo they would recal the fame of their anceſtors; and warn theſe knights, that if they diminiſhed, in one point, the luſtre of their characters, it would deprive them of the fruits of all their labours. Sometimes the cry was, 'Love of ladies! Death of heroes! Praiſe and honour to knights who ſuſtain toil! Rewards and arms to him by whom proweſs and glory is gained in ſweat and blood!' At the vigils of tournaments, where the danger was leſs, the cry was, 'Love of ladies!—death of horſes!'

THE rewards given to the heralds and minſtrels from the champions, for the ſhouts they raiſed in the people, were received with added acclamations; and the

ſounds of 'Nobleſſe!' ſignifying Liberality, were repeated at each new diſtribution. "In the jouſts," ſays Monſtrelet, "that were made in 1440, for the marriage of Mademoiſelle de Cleves, niece of the duke of Burgundy, with the duke of Orleans, in which the Count de St. Pol gained the prize, were given many great gifts to all the officers, by the princes who were preſent; for which they cried, with loud ſhouts, 'Largeſs! Largeſs! Largeſs!' naming at the ſame time thoſe who had beſtowed theſe bounties."

ON other occaſions, the noble knights gave to the poor ones, who had none, the horſes they had taken; which, among the other laws of Chivalry, contributed alſo to the good of the ſtate. A lady thus celebrates her champion for this generoſity: "My champion gives to one his war horſe, to another his ambling palfrey."

OF all virtues, the virtue of generoſity was the moſt celebrated by the poets, or Troubadours, the romance writers, and the jongleurs, or ſingers of their poems: and this alſo tended to the public good, by the beneficent ſpirit it encouraged; and therefore was very wiſely recommended with energy to the knights. The romance writers alſo ſignalized the ſplendour of their arms, and the richneſs of their habits. The remnants torn off in the fight, the glittering pieces of armour broken and ſcattered, the gold and ſilver ſpangles, and ornamental parts of the dreſs, with which the field of battle was ſtrewed, were all divided among the heralds and minſtrels.

THERE is a ſort of imitation to be obſerved, of this ancient magnificence, in the court of Lewis the Thirteenth, when the duke of Buckingham, going to the audience of the queen, appeared in a habit covered over with pearls, on

purpoſe ill faſtened, that they might fall off as he moved along, and ſo furniſh him with a genteel pretext for preſenting them to thoſe, who ſhould pick them up to reſtore them.

THE principal laws of the tournaments, called with juſtice, in the romance of Perceforeſt, the Schools of Proweſs, and given, it is ſuppoſed, by the emperor Henry the Fowler, conſiſted in never ſtriking with the edge or point, but with the flat end of the ſword; never ſtriking any one on the back, nor to fight out of the rank;—the knight who rode out of his rank, was anciently held a recreant knight, or a fool;—nor to wound the horſe of his adverſary. Lancelot de Lac dwells on this point, in the diſcourſe held by Hector with a knight, who had killed his horſe under him. To do this was eſteemed a great crime in the laws of Chivalry; as it was, likewiſe, to direct the ſtrokes of the lance to any other part, except the viſage

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or the breaſt-piece. Froiſſart, in a very curious recital of the jouſts, made in 1380 at Chaſtel Joſſelin, between certain French and Engliſh of the two contending armies, obſerves, that Fermiton, an Engliſh, and Chaſtel Morant, a French knight, came on, in a foot tilt, againſt each other; the Engliſh knight, chancing to ſlip, run his ſword quite through the thigh of his antagoniſt, whom, notwithſtanding the violence of the thruſt, he could not overthrow: the knights and ſquires on each ſide were enraged, and ſaid, 'it was a villainous puſh:' the Engliſh knight excuſed himſelf, ſaying, 'it hurt him very much; and that, had he known at the beginning of the jouſt he ſhould have made this wound, he would not have engaged; but that he could not recover himſelf; for his foot ſlipped forward on his defence of himſelf, from the great puſh made at him by Chaſtel Morant.'—It was alſo a law never to ſtrike a knight when his helmet was off, or his viſor uncovered. In

Perceforeſt, a knight, who in the heat of battle ſtruck his adverſary at the moment when he had taken off his helmet, makes an apology for himſelf, as having been guilty of perfidy in ſo doing.—It was alſo conſidered as a crime for ſeveral to engage againſt one. The judge of peace, who was choſen by the ladies with a ſcrupulous exactneſs, and habited in a curious manner (but which would be tedious to relate) was always ready to interpoſe his pacific miniſtry, when any knight, who had inadvertently violated the laws of the combat, had thereby drawn againſt himſelf the enraged arms of ſeveral combatants united. This champion, armed with a long pike or a lance, ſurmounted with a hood, had no ſooner touched the helmet of the knight, as a ſign of clemency and ſafeguard from the ladies, than no one dared to lay hold on the culprit: he was abſolved from his fault, when it was believed to be in any way involuntary; but if it appeared to be deſignedly committed,

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it was by a rigorous puniſhment alone that expiation could be made. Such involuntary errors might very eaſily be committed, in the agitation and confuſion of the knights, cauſed by the crowd and tumult of theſe combats, which was ſometimes ſo great, and the duſt ſo thick (ſays Perceforeſt) that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh any thing. This it was that cauſed a knight, who was unknown, to be ſtiled the 'Knight of the Smoke;' his valour drawing all the ſpectators after him, and a ſmoke of duſt following him every where.—Another knight (ſays the ſame author) ſtooping in a violent hurry to take up the hood of a lady, and being confounded with the noiſe and heat of action, he put the hood on his head, inſtead of his helmet which he had loſt; in which ſingular diſguiſe, he became a diverting ſpectacle to the whole aſſembly.

IT was juſt that thoſe ladies, who had been the ſoul of theſe combats, ſhould be celebrated

celebrated with particular honour; the knights, therefore, never ended any combat of lances without a laſt jouſt, which was called, the lance of the ladies; and this homage was repeated in fighting for them with the ſword, the battle-axe, and the dagger; the latter was, of all the jouſts, that in which the knights piqued themſelves on the nobleſt efforts of valour and ſkill.

IN the combat of lances for the ladies, the attention of the ſpectators was reanimated, and the weary knights reſtored to new ardour. "As ſoon as the horſes ſprung forth (ſays Lancelot de Lac) there was ſuch a clattering on their helmets, that lances flew in pieces; and Gauvain took ſword in hand, and fell on a knight, ſhouting out, 'Ha! ha! fire knight! to the ſword—to the ſword! it is the rareſt delight in the world to jouſt; and I pray you, for the love of her you moſt delight in, let us tilt, till we can abide no longer, and

and till we make proof who ſhall be overthrown."—Another knight holds this diſcourſe with his adverſary, after the combat (in the romance of Flores de Grèce) 'While we are yet mounted, and we have plenty of lances, let us yet exchange ſome pleaſant ſtrokes; for, in my opinion, the courſe of lances is a more noble combat than that of the ſword.' The latter, however, was by Perceforeſt eſteemed the moſt dangerous combat.

KNIGHTS of valour engaged in them all on different occaſions; and Saintré and his companions vowed never to take from off their ſhoulders the gage of their enterprize in arms, till they had found a number of knights and ſquires of renown, and without reproach like themſelves, who ſhould engage with them in throwing lances, and in the combats of the battle-axe, the ſword, and the dagger.

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THE grand tournament we have thus, in its various parts, deſcribed, being ended, they were employed in the care of diſtributing, with all the equity and impartiality poſſible, the prize that had been propoſed, according to the ſtrength and dexterity that had been ſhewn; either for having broken the greateſt number of lances; given the beſt ſtroke of the ſword or lance; for having remained the longeſt on horſeback without having been diſmounted or overthrown; or, in fine, for having borne the preſs of the crowd the longeſt on foot, without taking off the helmet, or once lifting up the viſor to take breath, or relaxing from the fatigue of the engagement.

THE officers at arms, who had their eyes continually fixed on this multitude of combatants, made their reports of all that had paſſed, before the judges, and the other knights nominated to preſide at the jouſts. They went alſo through all the ranks to collect

collect the voices: in fine, the ſovereign princes, the judges, and the knights expreſsly appointed before the tournament, pronounced the name of the victor. The deciſion was often veſted in the ladies, as ſovereigns of the tournament; and, at the foot of their tribunal, the prize was adjudged to the victorious champion.

THE monk of St. Denys relates a tournament in 1389, for the knighthood of the King of Sicily and his brother, in which he tells us, "After ſupper, the ladies, as judges of the field, and the honour of the liſts, decreed the prize to *two* knights. The day following (adds he) they reſigned the liſts to twenty-two ſquires, who had faithfully ſerved their maſters, for them to exerciſe with the arms and horſes of their lords. They were conducted thither by as many young gentlewomen, with the ſame ceremony and the ſame authority of judging, and of giving the prize to him who ſhould beſt deſerve

deſerve it; and, after having fought till night, with the ſucceſs due to their courage, they came, at the ſupper of the king, to receive the deciſion of the young gentlewomen."

THE third day, which was to be the laſt of the jouſts, there was no order preſerved; the ſquires ran in pell-mell with the knights, and many great feats were done, which were alſo decided by the ſuffrage of the ladies. In the hiſtory of the Chevalier Bayard, it is recorded, that, at a tournament he had proclaimed for the love of ladies, in the ceremonies of giving the prize, the nobles and the ladies of the city of Aire in Picardy, where it paſſed, after many debates, declared, "that, as the Chevalier Bayard had deſerved the beſt, he ſhould himſelf aſſign the reward to whom he ſhould chooſe." This diſtinction greatly abaſhed him, and he ſtood ſilent a few moments; but recollecting himſelf, he ſaid—"I know not by what grace this honour

is done me; it ſeems to me, others have been more worthy of it: but, ſince it is the will of theſe lords and ladies that I ſhould be judge,—requeſting of all my knights companions preſent, whoſe worth is ſo much greater than mine, that they will not be diſpleaſed at my award—I give the prize of the firſt day to my Lord de Bellabre, and the ſecond to Captain David, the Scotch gentleman: to them be the preſents immediately delivered, and let no one murmur thereat." On which they began the dances and the paſtimes.

IF it chanced, in the adjudging the reward, it was not given to the hero the ladies thought moſt worthy, a ſecond prize was decreed, which was not leſs magnificent than the firſt, and often more flattering for him that received it. A queen (in the romance of Perceforeſt) preceded by two minſtrels playing before her, and marching between two young gentlewomen, who, with their hands lifted up, bore along the prize,

prize, advanced towards the two knights who had equally ſhared in the honour of the tournament. She complimented them on their valour, ſaying, "The king might juſtly beſtow on you, noble youths! the richeſt rewards; but the preſent for lovers, and the moſt ſuited to your age, is a chaplet of roſes; and with theſe you ſhall both be crowned by theſe young gentlewomen: for no one can diſcern which has the moſt nobly deſerved."

WHEN the prize was decreed, the officers at arms went for the lady or young gentlewoman who was to preſent it to the victor. The kiſs, which he had a right to receive with this badge of glory, was the concluding honour of his triumph. Sometimes the prize was given at the liſts—ſometimes in the palais, in the midſt of the diverſions which ſucceeded the tournament. Matthew de Couci, in his hiſtory of Charles the Seventh, ſpeaking of the feaſts of the Duke of Burgundy, relates,

lates, "that, while they danced in their faſhion, the kings at arms, and the heralds, with the nobles who were appointed to make this enquiry, went to the ladies and the young gentlewomen, to know of them who it was to whom they adjudged the prize, for having the beſt jouſted, and broken points for that day; and it was found that M. de Charolois had the beſt deſerved. Then the officers at arms led two ladies, who were princeſſes (Mademoiſelle de Bourbon and Mademoiſelle d'Eſtampes) to deliver the prize, and they preſented it to the ſaid Lord de Charolois, who kiſſed them, as was the cuſtom to do, and as is the law of Chivalry; and loud were the cries of joy and victory. The prize being adjudged, the knight was conducted by the ladies into the palace, in the midſt of a vaſt multitude, the air reſounding with their acclamations, and the moſt exceſſive praiſes burſting forth from thoſe who ſurrounded him; and the heralds, the judges, and the minſtrels, with

martial ſounds, and peals of triumph, completed his glory." Nor will any, who are acquainted with the honours ſo profuſely beſtowed in France on military talents and virtues, and the prodigious number of ſpectators who repaired thither to the tournaments, be ſurprized at ſuch impreſſions made on hearts paſſionately devoted to glory, and who hoped hereafter to obtain an equal ſhare of applauſe. The Olympic Games, celebrated by Pindar with all the pomp of ſublime poetry, and the triumphs of ancient Rome, do not exhibit a more glorious recompence. In one reſpect, Chivalry was ſuperior; for it humbled not the vanquiſhed. Theſe bluſhed not to exalt the proweſs of the victor; he might another time yield to their ſkill; and his bravery heightened, as it were, the glory of their defeat. Neither the wiſdom of Greece, nor the policy of Rome, had conceived any ſyſtem more noble, or more uſeful to form brave partiſans and defenders of their country.

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THE hero, thus conducted into the palace, was diſarmed by the ladies, who cloathed him anew in rich habits. When he had taken ſome repoſe, they led him into the hall, where the prince was waiting to receive him, and cauſed him to ſit down in the moſt honourable place at the feaſt, expoſed to the obſervation and admiration of the gueſts and the ſpectators, and often ſerved by the ladies. Encircled with ſo much glory, he would have required the warning given to the ancient victors, 'Remember thou art mortal,' if the precepts of Chivalry had not taught him, that ſimplicity and modeſty alone gave a luſtre to victory; and if he had not been directed, from a child, to be the laſt who ſhould ſpeak high things, and the firſt who ſhould do them—to be mild among the aged, and ſtout among the brave—and that he could never praiſe himſelf too little, or others too much. Lancelot de Lac deſcribes, in his romance, a young hero, ſeated at table between the king and the queen, ſo embarraſſed and timid, as

not to be able to look up, though he had juſt before won the prize, and had been covered with glory in a tournament.

THE ſame principles of modeſty inſpired the knights, who were victors, with the kindeſt attention to conſole the vanquiſhed, and ſoften their concern. 'To-day (ſay they to thoſe who held out their hands to them in gratulation of their victory) fortune and the fate of arms, not my ſuperior valour, give me the advantage: to-morrow, perhaps, I may ſink under the ſtrokes of an enemy far leſs powerful than yourſelf.

THESE examples of humanity, and the leſſons of generoſity, ſo often repeated in the tournaments, were not forgotten, even in the fury of war, and amidſt the carnage of battle—the knights were as compaſſionate after, as inflexible before victory.

THE French and the Engliſh, without debating (as has been done) to which

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nation Chivalry owes its origin, have ever uſed ſuch humanity and faith towards their priſoners, that they have been mutually the firmeſt ſupporters of its laws, and have perſevered in proving the ſpirit of them, when their neighbouring nations have given horrid examples of barbarity and treachery to their unhappy priſoners. Olivier de la Marche, in his Memoirs, gives a pleaſing inſtance of generoſity in James de Lalain and Piétois, two knights, in 1450, who, in a combat on foot, having overthrown each other, were raiſed up again by the aſſiſtants, and brought to the judges, who cauſed them to embrace, in ſign of peace; and when Lalain, from modeſty, would have ſent his bracelet to Piétois, according to the convention agreed on for the peace, Piétois declared, 'that having been overthrown as well as Lalain, he conſidered himſelf as equally obliged to give him his bracelet.' This new combat of politeneſs ended by ſaying no more about the bracelet, and by accepting from

each other a much richer gift; for a ſtrict bond of friendſhip was formed between theſe generous enemies.

THE exploits of the different actors in the tournaments, their proweſs, their vigour, and addreſs; the adventures of the ancient knights, and the heroes who had eſtabliſhed the glory of the nation and of knighthood, was the ſubject of the converſations at and after the feaſts. They inſcribed them in the public and authentic regiſters of the officers at arms; and they were the matter of the poems, lays, and ſongs, ſung or recited by the ladies, the young gentlewomen, and the minſtrels, who joined their voices herein with all ſorts of inſtruments.

LANCELOT DE LAC and Perceforeſt make mention of the regiſters, in which the clerks inſcribed the marvellous adventures performed; and each knight was obliged to relate thoſe he had gone thro'

to the clerk, charged with the keeping of these public regiſters, and to atteſt the truth of them on oath. — Matthew de Couci, a graver authority, after an enumeration of the vows made by the gueſts, at the banquet given at Liſle, in 1453, adds, "ſuch were the vows which were made to the ſaid king at arms of the Golden Fleece; which vows I have here regiſtered, as exactly as I might, according to his ordonnance, which he had made, as he ſaid, according to, and by the order which had been given him in writing."

IT may be reaſonably ſuppoſed that more ſolid monuments conveyed, ſometimes, to poſterity, the names of the victors at the jouſts. Father Deſrey, the continuator of Monſtrelet, informs us, 'that in memory of a ſolemn tournament, given by Charles the Eighth at Lyons, in 1495, three pillars of ſtone were erected, on which were compoſed, in Latin

verſe, in a curious ſtile, the ſingular actions of this grand jouſt, of which the ſaid King Charles the Eighth was the principal ſupporter.

THE games that a curious ſpectator might have ſeen in the apartments of the palace, at the end of the feaſts which were given after the tournaments, were leſs amuſements of idleneſs, or ruinous diverſions, than occaſions of exerciſing the wit, the ſkill, the imagination, and the talents of thoſe preſent; for he might have obſerved the ladies and the knights play at cheſs, (a game which is looked upon, with reaſon, as the rudiment of tactics, the moſt judicious and leaſt equivocal part of the military art): and if the ſaid ſpectator had lent his ear to the diſcourſes of the ladies, he would have heard them animate the courage of their reſpective lovers by eulogies on thoſe knights, who had appeared in the jouſts with the greateſt eclat, and by the teſtimonies of eſteem and grati-

tude they moſt liberally beſtowed on thoſe their beloved ſervants, who had excelled in valour. To inſpire alſo this love of glory, the ladies warmed their ambition by proverbs and couplets in their diſcourſes; as, 'He that would ſecure a horſe of gold, muſt firſt ſeize him by the bridle;' &c.

IN a converſation that paſſed between the Chevalier Bayard, and the Lady of Fluxas, as related in the old and ſcarce manuſcript of the Chevalier's hiſtorian, publiſhed by Theod. Godefroy, it is very ſimply and beautifully repreſented, that nothing is impoſſible to the ardent and aſpiring mind. At theſe entertainments it was, that future ſcenes of honour and activity were contrived and propoſed—new prizes of merit, not only in the tournaments, but in the dangerous and bloody enterprizes of war; ſuch as the taking priſoners, gaining poſts of importance, ſcaling walls, &c. In the hiſtory of John de Saintré, the lady to whom he had given

given his heart, propoſed to him jouſts and combats againſt the Engliſh; believing ſhe could not give a greater proof of tenderneſs to her lover, than in ſhewing this lively intereſt in his glory. It was by this means, according to Froiſſart, a lady made trial whether her lover was worthy of her. — "A knight of Bourbonnois, named Bonnelance, a valiant man in arms, gracious and loving, being at Montferrand in Auvergne, in great diverſion and pleaſure with the ladies and young gentlewomen, they preſſed him to engage in ſome exploit againſt the Engliſh. One of them, whom he loved the beſt, told him, that ſhe ſhould like, of all things, to behold an Engliſhman. 'If I can be ſo happy to take one alive (replied he) I will bring him to you.' Some time after this, he was enabled to make good his promiſe; and, to the great delight of the ladies and the young gentlewomen, brought back to them, among the priſoners he had gained, ſome Engliſhmen; and addreſſing himſelf

to

to the lady who desired an Englishman, 'Here are several (said he); I will leave them all in this city under your care, till they shall find those who will pay their ransom.' The ladies laughed, and cried 'Grammerci;' and Bonnelance turned this event into great revelry and delight, surrounded with ladies so pleasant and debonair."

SOME historians have said, that the desire of glory was the sole motive of Charles the Seventh's union with the beautiful Agnes Sorel: it certainly contributed to the forming of it. This was the principle of the tenderness shewn by the ladies to these knights; and an able system of politics encouraged and confirmed, in the latter, these impressions, so well suited to the ardour and elevation of their natural dispositions. The songs of the gests, atchievements, or military histories, and other poems composed to celebrate the tournaments, spread abroad through all the courts in the world, and carried, on the swift wings of fame, the name

name and glory of the victors; warmed all hearts, and excited the moſt noble emulation. This alſo was the great view of the romance writers and hiſtorians; and the preamble of every work, whether in proſe or verſe, compoſed at this time, is a proof that the ſame ſpirit of glory, and martial enterprize, reigned in all ranks and orders of the ſtate. Du Gueſclin, a priſoner of the Engliſh, relied, with reaſon, on the love that reigned in the hearts of the ladies for heroic virtues: When being made the arbiter of his own ranſom, he fixed it at an exceſſive ſum, the Prince of Wales, amazed at his preſumption, aſked him 'by what means he would ever be able to pay it?' 'I have friends (replied he); the kings of France and Caſtile will not fail me in my need: I know a hundred knights in Bretagne, who will ſell their lands to redeem me; and there is not a woman in France, now ſpinning at her diſtaff, who would not work her hands off to deliver me out of yours: and if all the amiable

amiable ſpinners in France are employed to gain my liberty, do you think I ſhall remain much longer with you?'—Valour and virtue could alone inſpire ſuch aſſurance in a man, who, contrary to the cuſtom of noble knights, was the ugliеſt man in France. In fact, his predictions were verified; and the Queen of England, wife of Edward the Third, was one of the firſt to contribute to the ranſom of this enemy of her nation: on which, throwing himſelf at her feet, to teſtify his gratitude, he ſaid, 'I had till now believed I was the ugliеſt man in France; but, from this moment of your majeſty's high bounty, I ſhall begin to conceive great things of myſelf; and well I may, by ſo fair a hand thus enriched and honoured.' With this love of glory Alain Chartier was inſpired, in a poem, in which he introduces four ladies, who are relating the different fate of their lovers, each of whom were at the bloody battle of Agincourt: one was killed; another made priſoner;

ſoner; the third was loſt in the battle, and never heard of more; the fourth was ſafe, but he owed his ſafety to a ſhameful flight: 'Ah! woe is me! (ſaid the lady of this baſe knight) for having placed my affection on a coward!—he would have been dear to me dead, but alive he is my reproach!'—In this ſentiment the poet was the hiſtorian of the ſoul; for this magnanimity of ſpirit, and this eſteem of courage, and ardour to ſupport it, were engraven on the tendereſt hearts; and were the rich fruits of ancient Chivalry, which burſt forth, and nouriſhed that multitude of heroes, who have eternized the honour of the French nation.

PART

PART III.

THE tournaments were only deviſed to keep in action the ſons of war, and particularly when, in the times of peace, they had no other employments for their courage. They were always dangerous, and ſometimes fatal; many being cruſhed to death in the crowd, beſides thoſe who were killed in the combat. Fauchet ſays, "Robert, Count of Clermont in Beauvoiſiz, the ſon of St. Louis, and a firſt chief of the houſe, which is now called the Houſe of Bourbon, received, in one of theſe tournaments, ſo many blows with a mace, that he was never well through his life." "Raoul count d' Eu, conſtable of France, loſt his life," ſays St. Denys, "in 1344, at the jouſts that were made

for the marriage of Philip, the ſon of Philip de Valois." But the moſt bloody of the tournaments was that made at Nuys, in which, according to Philip Mouſkes, there were fourſcore and two knights, and as many ſquires, who were killed.

THE object of theſe games, juſtly called Schools of Proweſs, was the ſame as that of our camps in peace; they were to form new warriors, and perfect the old in the management of arms, and in military evolutions; for ſo they are called in the Hiſtory of Jeruſalem, written in 1177. In theſe ſchools of war the maſters informed themſelves of the talents of their pupils; kept up the habit of command; ſtudied, with more reflection and with leſs peril, the manœuvres to be formed againſt the enemy; and, while they applied themſelves to render theſe attempts more regular and more ſure, they tried to invent new ſtratagems of annoyance and defence.

defence. For addreſs and ſkill were of more conſequence, in the jouſt, than ſtrength; and the moſt vigorous were often overthrown by the weakeſt, who poſſeſſed the art of tilting, and knew the importance of the different ſtrokes aimed at the enemy, and to parry them in ſuch a manner, as not to loſe the equilibrium. Practice was, of all other things, the moſt neceſſary, to arrive at this perfection; as is affirmed by Brantôme, in his eulogy on the Marquis de Guaſt.

THE origin of the tournaments is generally agreed to be in the eleventh century; but they may be traced from the times in which war was regularly carried on, and reduced to principles of art. Their great object, which in their firſt eſtabliſhment was perfectly anſwered, was, to reſcue from idleneſs, and to inſpire and preſerve courage in time of peace. In a more extenſive view, they are to be conſidered as only weak images, and trivial eſ-

ſays, of military expeditions and battles. It was the enterprizes of war, in the cruſades, that inſpired the moſt perfect ardour, and which were announced and publiſhed with a pomp and preparation calculated to animate every warrior, who wiſhed to concur in, and partake of, their glory. They were alſo ſealed by public acts, which religion, honour, and love, whether united or ſeparate, rendered equally irrevocable; and the generals and ſoldiers were engaged, by ſacred oaths and vows, from which there was no diſpenſation, to ſhed every drop of their blood, rather than betray or abandon, in any ſituation whatever, the intereſt of the ſtate.

WHETHER theſe engagements were moſt ſerious, or only trials of ſkill, the knights wore, in them, chains, or other badges, faſtened by the hands of the ladies; who often granted them a kiſs, eſteemed a ſacred pledge of affection, as

Saintré

Saintré acknowledged to have received from his miſtreſs.

THESE badges, which they never after ceaſed to wear, were the pledges of whatever enterprize they engaged in; and which they ſwore, on their knees, and on the goſpels, to fulfil. We may trace the origin of theſe chains, conſidered as the ſymbols of an engagement, to the time of Tacitus, who relates ſomething of the ſame kind, in the manners of the Germans; where, ſpeaking of the Cattes, he ſays, "Inſolvent debtors become the ſlaves of their creditors, wearing chains as well as the other ſlaves; only with this diſtinction, that, inſtead of ſeveral irons, they have only one ring of iron round their arm." The penitents, in the pilgrimages in which they devoted themſelves equally debtors to the church, wore alſo chains, as a mark of their ſlavery; and it was from them, no doubt, the knights took the like, as a badge of their vows

in arms. "A Poloneſe lord," ſays Saintré, "who came to the court of France, wore two rings of gold, one below the elbow of his right arm, and the other above his inſtep, both of them faſtened together by a long chain of gold; and theſe he wore for the ſpace of five years, till he found a knight or ſquire of arms, without reproach, who ſhould unlooſe them; to accompliſh which the more honourably, he came to the court of France, where noble and valiant knights were graciouſly received." The Abbé de Vertot relates, from the Memoirs of Pieresc, that John de Bourbon, in 1417, to avoid idleneſs, acquire glory, and obtain the grace of his lady, made a vow, with ſixteen other knights and ſquires of renown, to wear, for two years, every Sunday, on their left leg, a priſoner's ring (that of the knights was to be gold, and the ſquires ſilver) till they ſhould find the ſame number of knights and ſquires with whom to combat. Olivier de la

Marche

Marche relates the formalities obſerved at taking off theſe badges: "Galiot," ſays he, "in the engagements of horſe and foot at the court of Burgundy, propoſing himſelf to accept the challenge given by the lord of Ternant, he kneeled down before the duke of Burgundy, requeſting of him leave and licence to touch the badge worn by the lord of Ternant. The good duke raiſed him up, and gave him permiſſion. Galiot then aſked the king at arms, and the heralds, 'what was the cuſtom of the country?' ſaying, 'that in his country, when the candidate wreſted the badge from his companion, the life of the one or the other muſt pay for it; but when he only touched it, it was for the honour of Chivalry.' They replied, 'Such was their cuſtom alſo.' On which he advanced, and kneeling low, he ſaid, 'Noble knight, I touch your badge; and with the will of God you ſhall help me to fulfil my wiſhes for your honour.' The lord of Ternant thanked him very

humbly, and welcomed him to the feat of arms he deſired to accompliſh." Thus we ſee it was neceſſary to have the leave of the lord of the court where they reſided. Saintré having failed in this act of ſubmiſſion, the king ſaid to him and his companions, who came to him, after the combat, to aſk his permiſſion, "My friends, you act like thoſe who marry their couſin, and then ſeek for a diſpenſation." He granted them, however, the badges which the ladies had faſtened on their ſhoulders.

THE religion of the times ſuggeſted other vows, of a more particular kind: which conſiſted in viſiting ſeveral holy places; in depoſiting their arms, or thoſe of a vanquiſhed enemy, in the temples or monaſteries; in faſting, and other exerciſes of penitence. In the hiſtory of Bertrand du Gueſclin, it is recorded, that du Gueſclin, before he departed for a courſe of arms, propoſed by an

Engliſh-

Engliſhman, heard maſs; and, when he was making the offering at the altar, he alſo offered to God the arms he promiſed to uſe againſt the infidels, if he became victor. Soon after this, he had a challenge to maintain againſt another Engliſhman; the Engliſhman, throwing down his gage of battle, ſwore he would never ſleep in bed till he had accompliſhed it. Bertrand, taking up the gage, vowed to eat only three ſops in wine, in the name of the Holy Trinity, till this combat was over. Theſe facts, from hiſtorians, juſtify the old romance writers; and enlighten ſome obſcure paſſages in Dante, and other ancient authors.

PERSONAL valour dictated alſo ſingular vows; of which the following are examples: "James d' Endelée," ſays Froiſſart in his hiſtory, "had made a vow, that, in the next battle in which the king of England, or either of his ſons, ſhould appear, he would be the firſt aſ-

ſailant, the beſt warrior on their ſide, or that he would die in the attempt."—Du Gueſclin, being at the ſiege of Montcontour, ſwore never to eat meat, nor put off his cloaths, day or night, till he had taken the place; and his ſquire of honour, at the ſiege of Breſſière, in Poitou, promiſed, before God, to plant, that day, on the tower of the city, the banner of his maſter, which he carried, crying, "Du Gueſclin! Du Gueſclin!" or to die in the attempt.—The ſame hiſtory reports, that the beſieged made vows to eat all their beaſts, and, as their laſt reſource, to eat one another, in the rage of hunger, rather than yield the town; while the beſiegers, on their part, ſwore to maintain the ſiege through their lives; and die in battle, or take the place by the force of aſſault.—The moſt extraordinary of theſe vows, was that of the peacock, or pheaſant, made by the knight on the bird, as will be preſently related. Theſe noble birds, for ſo they were ſtiled, perfectly

repreſented

repreſented, by the brightneſs and variety of their colours, the majeſty of their kings, and the ſuperb veſtments with which they were adorned, when they held their pleniary or full courts.

THE old romancers obſerve, that the peacock and pheaſant were, as well as veniſon, the particular food of brave and gallant knights. "Gaſton, the fifth of that name," ſays Favin, "who had been created a peer of France by Charles the Seventh, betrothed to the daughter of that prince, Magdalen of France, and adorned with the order of the Star, determined to celebrate theſe accumulated honours by a magnificent feaſt, given at Tours, in 1458, to be followed by jouſts, which he ordered to be publiſhed abroad. This banquet was compoſed of five ſervices, and ſeven entremets, or ſmall plates of dainties, uſually ſerved at the tables of the great, juſt before the fruit. In one of theſe entremets they brought, in a large veſſel, a peacock

peacock alive, which had at its neck the arms of the queen of France; and round the veſſel were ranged various flags and ſtreamers, carrying the arms of all the princeſſes and ladies of the court; who were very proud of this honour ſhewn them by the Count de Foix: and ſo magnificent was this feaſt, that it appeared an earthly paradiſe. Theſe entremets were firſt deviſed to occupy the gueſts in the interval between the grand ſervices. They were exhibited before the reign of St. Louis, at the marriage of his brother Robert, at Compiegne, in 1237; and by Charles the Fifth, at a feaſt he gave, in 1378, to the king of the Romans. "The remains of this ancient magnificence," ſays De Thou, "were ſeen at the marriage of the prince of Navarre, in 1572, with the ſiſter of the king; and at another feaſt, which the queen gave, the following year, to the duke of Anjou, king of Poland: and a taſte for theſe ancient pleaſures was preſerved, at Florence, to the year 1600,

at

at the banquet given, in that city, for the marriage of Mary de Medicis with Henry the Fourth.

THE plumage of the fine birds preſented at theſe ſplendid entertainments, was conſidered, by the ladies in Provence, as the richeſt ornament with which they could decorate the Troubadour, who celebrated their praiſe: the feathers were interwoven in the crown, given as a recompence for the poetic talents he conſecrated to the celebration of valour and of gallantry: and a figure of the peacock was the prize of the knights themſelves. At a feaſt, given for the peace made in 1659, by the city of Marſeilles, "the Troubadours," ſays father Méneſtrier, "came crowned with peacocks feathers, which had been formally devoted to them by the ladies of Provence. The eyes, repreſented in their plumage, expreſſed the attention of all the world to theſe Troubadours." Pope Paul the Third ſent to king

king Pepin a conſecrated ſword; and accompanied it with a mantle interwoven with the peacock's feathers.

BUT the higheſt glory of this bird, was the moſt ſingular vow made on it, which was performed in the following manner:—The day on which the knights were to take their ſolemn vows, a peacock or pheaſant, ſometimes roaſted, but always dreſſed and garniſhed out with its fineſt feathers, was brought in, with great dignity, by the ladies, or the young gentlewomen, in a large gold or ſilver veſſel, in the midſt of a numerous company of aſſembled knights. They preſented this diſh to each knight, who made his vow on the bird; after which, they carried it back, and placed it on a table, to be diſtributed among the aſſiſtants. The ſkill of the perſon who carved it, conſiſted in dividing the parts ſo nicely, that all preſent might have a ſhare. In the romance of Lancelot de Lac, there is a great

eulogy given to King Artus, for having carved the peacock, at the round table, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of a hundred and fifty knights, ſeated at the feaſt, that they were all content with the ſhare aſſigned them.

THE old romancers, who wrote on this ſingular vow, inform us, that the ladies, or young gentlewomen, after preſenting the bird to every knight, choſe one of the moſt valiant knights to accompany them in this ceremony, and to direct the peacock to that knight whom he eſteemed the braveſt; which being done, the knight elected cut up the bird, and diſtributed it in his ſight. So high a preference beſtowed on eminent valour was not accepted, till after a long and modeſt reſiſtance, and confeſſing themſelves the leaſt worthy of this honour: in the ſame manner as the knights, admitted into the order of the Holy Ghoſt, proteſted they were

were wholly undeſerving of ſo glorious a diſtinction.

THE account of the ſingular ceremony which paſſed at Liſle, alſo, in 1453, on the conferring this order, at the court of Philip, the good duke of Burgundy, is too curious to be omitted. It was exhibited upon occaſion of the cruſade againſt the Turks, when the conqueſt of the eaſtern empire was accompliſhed, by the taking of Conſtantinople; and is thus deſcribed by Matthew de Couci, and Olivier de la Marche, who were at this feaſt:—"The neceſſary time for the preparations, and arrival of the knights, was paſſed in ſeveral feaſts given by the principal lords; the laſt of which was that of the duke of Cleves, when they proclaimed the banquet of his uncle the duke of Burgundy; which, according to the ancient cuſtom, was to be given eighteen days from that time. The proclamation was thus made: A lady, mounting on the

table where the duke of Burgundy was ſeated, by a ſtep made for that purpoſe, kneeled down before him, and placed on the head of that prince, a chaplet, or crown of flowers: from hence the cuſtom of offering, at balls, a noſegay to the perſon who is to give the next entertainment. When the eighteen days were paſſed, the duke of Burgundy drew together his whole court, and the nobility of his different ſtates, to his banquet, which was the annunciation of the high myſteries of religion and of knighthood: When, if the magnificence of the prince was admired in the multitude and abundance of the ſervices, it was ſtill more conſpicuous in the elegant ſpectacles diſplayed in the entremets, or curious and dainty diſhes, brought in between the ſervices and the fruits; by which the feaſt was rendered more pompous and amuſing. There appeared, in the hall, divers decorations; machines, figures of men, and extraordinary animals, trees, mountains, rivers, and a

ſea,

ſea, with veſſels on it: all theſe objects were intermixed with perſonages, with birds, and other living animals, who were in motion in the hall, or on the great table, and repreſented the actions relative to the deſign the duke had formed; which was, to exhibit the feaſts of the palace of Alcine, in the ancient court of France. It is aſtoniſhing to conceive what muſt have been the extent of the hall, which contained ſo ſpacious a table, or rather ſo vaſt a theatre, with the ground neceſſary for the action of ſo many machines and perſons; without reckoning the multitude of the gueſts, and the crowd of ſpectators. In the midſt of this ſpectacle entered ſuddenly a giant, armed in the ancient manner of a Moor of Grenada; he led an elephant, who carried a caſtle on his back, in which was a lady, bathed in tears, and dreſſed in long mourning habits, as a nun, or devotee to the cloyſter. When ſhe came into the hall, and was in the midſt of the aſſembly, ſhe recited a poem of

three

three ſtanzas, which commanded the giant to ſtop; but he, looking on her with a fixed eye, continued his march till he came to the table of the duke. At that moment the captive lady, who repreſented Religion, made a long complaint, in verſe, on the calamities ſhe ſuffered from the tyranny of the infidels; and reproached the lukewarmneſs of thoſe, who ought to have ſuccoured and delivered her. When this lamentation was over, the king at arms, of the order of the Golden Fleece, preceded by a long file of officers at arms, and carrying on his head a pheaſant alive, which was ornamented with a golden collar, enriched with pearls and precious ſtones, advanced towards the duke of Burgundy, and preſented to him two young ladies; the one of whom was Yolande, the natural daughter of that prince; and the other, Iſabel of Neufchatel, daughter of the lord de Montaigu; each accompanied by a knight of the Golden Fleece. At the ſame

time, the king at arms offered to the duke the bird he carried, in the name of theſe ladies; who recommended themſelves to the protection of their ſovereign, in conformity to the ancient cuſtoms; according to which, in the great feaſts and noble aſſemblies, they preſented to the princes, lords, and noble ladies, a peacock, or ſome other royal bird, on which to make vows ſerviceable to thoſe ladies who ſhould implore their aſſiſtance. The duke, after having attentively liſtened to the petition of the king at arms, returned a billet, which was read aloud, and began in theſe words: "I vow to God my Creator, and to the glorious Virgin his mother; and after theſe to the ladies and the pheaſants, &c." It further contained ſolemn promiſes (the grand intent of this allegorical exhibition) to carry the war amongſt the infidels, for the defence of the oppreſſed church, and that caſtle, in which this ſingular ceremony was repreſented.

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"THE vow made by the duke (ſays Olivier de la Marche) was the ſignal of all the other vows; each of which had in view, the proving their courage againſt the Turks; and ſome arbitrary penance was added, as, to abſtain from wine and meat on certain days, not to ſleep in a bed, not to eat on a table-cloth, to wear ſhirts of hair or armour next the ſkin, &c. till theſe engagements were performed."

THE concluſion of theſe vows was celebrated by a new ſpectacle. A lady, dreſſed in white, in the habit of a nun, bearing on her ſhoulder a ſcroll, on which was written, "Grace of God," in letters of gold, came to thank the aſſembly; and preſented twelve ladies, conducted by as many knights. Theſe ladies repreſented different virtues; the name of each, every lady carried alſo on her ſhoulder, marked on a billet or brevet; and that they were to be of this expedition, to inſure its ſucceſs. When they had paſſed in review, one after

the other preſented their brevet to Grace of God, who read them, and recited, at the end of each, in a couplet of eight verſes, the names of the ladies; which were, Faith, Juſtice, Charity, Reaſon, Prudence, Temperance, Strength, Truth, Liberality, Diligence, Hope, Valour; all which were to expreſs the virtues neceſſary to a true and perfect knight. Theſe ceremonies over, they all began to dance in figures, and were ſumptuouſly feaſted; and with theſe allegorical and magnificent entertainments ended this noble and joyful feaſt.

THESE were ages in which men had need of ſenſible objects to rouſe their activity, and to move and excite them to worthy actions; and perhaps there is no period in which they have not, in ſome meaſure, been found neceſſary. The ſkill and judgment is ſhewn in making uſe of the means, and fixing on ſuch entertainments, to effect this, and promote the

cauſe

cauſe of virtue and religion, as are beſt adapted to the ſpirit of the times, and the character of the nation wherein they are exhibited. Such were the train of ceremonies we have juſt recited. They were the neceſſary ſpur to animate the knights, who would otherwiſe have been diſcouraged by the miſeries of the cruſades, and the vaſt conqueſts of the Turks. The rapid march of theſe brave knights towards the country of the infidels, though particular cauſes defeated their project, was a proof of that ardour, for which they were ſo juſtly renowned.

ON the creation of knights (more of whom were made in theſe military expeditions than in times of peace) the ſword was preſented, by the handle, to the prince, or the general, by whom the honour was to be conferred; and this was all the ceremonial. Poſſibly, an acknowledged valour was a ſufficient title; and this kind of knighthood gave only the rights

and privileges attached to the perſon, but not thoſe which paſſed, in general progreſſion, from father to ſon; and here was certainly no oath required. There was never any important event in war, which was not either preceded or followed by a promotion of knights. The entry of armies, or the diſembarking of fleets, into the country of the enemy; the marches; the retreats; the parties ſent on ſcouts; the paſſages over bridges and rivers; the attack and defence of places, of their ſuburbs, palliſadoes, barriers, caſtles, towers, or platforms, in the midſt of a caſtle; ſallies, ambuſcades, encounters, and battles on land and on ſea;—all theſe circumſtances of war raiſed continually to the ſtate new defenders, under the title of knights; which was granted them as a reward for their deſire to ſpill their blood in defence of their country, or for having thus bravely engaged in its cauſe.—Froiſſart, who gives many inſtances of theſe promotions, remarks, that, at the attack of the palliſadoes

palliſadoes of Paris, by the King of England, in 1359, he would have thus honoured his body-ſquire, Colart d'Auberthicourt; but the latter excuſed himſelf, ſaying, that he could not find his helmet; which was an eſſential piece of armour in theſe promotions. At the ſiege of Bourges, in 1412, there were made five hundred knights; and alſo by the Engliſh, in 1333, in the fleet which was ſetting ſail to attack the city of Cayant.—The admiral, who commanded the fleet in 1588, made many knights, to reward thoſe who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the engagement againſt the fleet of Philip.

IT would be difficult to decide, what promotions have produced the greateſt feats in war; whether thoſe which preceded the combats, or thoſe which followed them; though the latter were held in greater repute in the time of Brantome. The following inſtances will prove the exceſſive glory attached to theſe mili-

tary promotions, and the ardour the view of them inſpired.

EDWARD, king of England, at the battle of Creſſy, in 1346, being preſſed to ſend an immediate ſuccour to his ſon, the prince of Wales, who was only fourteen years old, and who was then in the battle, ſurrounded on all ſides,—"Is he then dead (replied the king) or overthrown, or ſo much wounded, that he can no longer defend himſelf?" They replied, "that the young prince yet lived, but that he was in the moſt imminent danger."—"Return then (ſaid the king) to him, and to thoſe who have ſent you; and tell them, from me, that I charge them to ſend to me, on no adventure that may happen, while my ſon is alive: and tell them, my commands are, that they let the young man obtain the honour of his ſpurs [he had juſt received theſe, as badges of knighthood]; for I will (added he) if God permit, let the day be his, and the honour wholly his own." Thoſe who obtained the ſpurs of knighthood, before

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the battle begun, were generally placed in the firſt line, to give them the opportunity of juſtifying the opinion conceived of them.

THERE is a fine example of intrepidity given in the hiſtory of Boucicaut's life, who, being not paſt childhood, but inured to labours, when he followed Charles the Sixth, in the war againſt the Flemings, was made a knight by the duke of Bourbon, in whoſe company he was enrolled. "At the battle of Roſebeck (ſays the hiſtorian) the young Boucicaut would meaſure his ſword with a great fat Fleming. As he was levelling a ſtroke at him with his axe, which he held with both his hands, the Fleming, ſeeing him to be a child, and judging of him by his ſize only, ſneered at him, ſaying, as he beat the axe out of his hands, 'Go, infant, go and ſuck! The French want men, indeed, when they bring ſuch children to battle!' The young boy, becoming furious by the

loſs

loſs of his weapon, glides under the arm of the giant, and, drawing his dagger, plunges it into his ſide, maugre his cuiraſs, and leaves him extended on the ground. 'Do the infants of thy country (retorted Boucicaut) amuſe themſelves with ſuch paſtimes as theſe?"—With this anecdote may be compared that of young Boutieres, related by the Abbé Du Bos; who, at ſixteen years of age, made an Albanian giant priſoner, and then gave him a challenge, to prove his courage point to point, and conquered him without any other aſſiſtance.

IN the year 1554, knighthood was granted by the duke of Guiſe, with other favours, to recompenſe the officers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the battle of Renti. It was thought, however, by the ableſt politicians, that knighthood ſhould be conferred after, and not previous to, battle; honours poſſeſſed not always producing the ſame effects as ho-

nours

nours desired: and sometimes a battle designed was not given; as it happened at Vironfosse, in 1339. The armies were in presence of each other, and even ready to charge: on this, they made some knights; and then separated without any engagement. A hare, which ran across the field, during these transactions, gave these knights, by way of derision, the title or nick-name of 'Knights of the Hare.'

BRANTOME always prefers the knighthood conferred after battle to that given before. Having related the services that the Bastard of Bourbon rendered to Lewis the Eleventh, he mentions the rage he was in, on being called by the king to make some knights, when he was just ready to charge the enemy: he cried out, "Sire! Sire! advance! it is now no time to amuse yourself in making of knights! behold the enemy—let us employ ourselves with them!" And Monsr. Sansac says, that those who wished for this ho-

nour before battle, were apprehenſive leſt their king or general, who promiſed it, ſhould die in the engagement, or they themſelves without it. This ambitious ceremony is not now practiſed; for whether the ſoldier dies valiantly, or ſurvives honourably, he is as highly eſteemed as if he had received this dignity: and it has happened, that many, who have had it before battle, inſtead of fighting valiantly, have done nothing, or run away—and their knighthood was finely beſtowed! The braveſt have, indeed, choſen knighthood after battle; as Francis the Firſt, who received it after the battle with the Swiſs, from the brave Bayard; and M. de Thavanes, after the battle of Renti; who was not only made a knight of honour, but of the ſame order of King Henry himſelf.

THE apparent advantages that attended theſe military promotions, rendered them very frequent and very numerous. At the ſiege of one place only, in the reign of

Charles

Charles the Sixth, many hundred knights were made; and ſtill more in the reign of Charles the Seventh; a reign fruitful of events. When the French recovered from the Engliſh the places they had uſurped, it was added to the articles of capitulation, "that if, in a time ſpecified, there came an army to defend the place, they ſhould be obliged to give battle, and the place ſhould remain to the victors." Theſe capitulations continued to the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth.

THE inhabitants of Senlis, beſieged by the Leaguers, imitated, in 1589, the oſtentation of the ancient knights. Cannon being brought to force them to ſurrender, they were ſeen running on the ramparts, and preparing for battle. "What occaſion is there for cannon (ſaid they) to ruin our fortifications? we are ourſelves ready to pull down our walls, if you will only promiſe to attack us." Villars, in the oppoſite party, did not maintain leſs haughtineſs,

haughtineſs, on the attacks made by the royaliſts, in 1592, againſt the city of Rouen, where he commanded. He gave a tournament without the gates of the city; and propoſed prizes, as if it had been a time of peace: meaning, by this ſpectacle, to brave his enemies.

IT is to Chivalry that the French owe the recovery of their provinces. Never was the glory of the French name carried higher, than in thoſe times when it was moſt honoured. In a diſcourſe, pronounced before Henry the Third, in 1588, this glorious teſtimony was rendered to the French nobility, by Montholon, keeper of the ſeals.

FRANCE and England, ſo long enemies, beheld their champions, even in the time of peace and truce, take arms againſt each other: not to attack or defend towns or provinces, but from a more intereſting motive; to maintain the pre-eminence of valour, without ceaſing diſputed between the two nations. Theſe duels, or ſingle combats,

combats, between the French knights and the Engliſh, or the Portugueſe, (who, abuſing the pretext of combating for the honour of the ladies, took part with the former) were often terminated to the advantage of the French, and always to the honour of Chivalry.

THE French knights, allied to the houſe of Orleans, returning from their victory, in 1408, made their entry into Paris, dreſſed in white. The lord of Clare, reconducting into England, in 1389, the lord of Courtenai, who had jouſted one turn only againſt Gui de la Trimouille, diſſembled his anger at the injurious obſervations the Engliſhman made againſt the Chivalry of the French. He had forborne to anſwer them, in the fear he might violate the ſafeguard which had been committed to him; but they were impreſſed upon his heart; and, when he had reſtored the ſtranger ſafe to the Engliſh land, he thought there was no reaſon for keeping fair

fair with him any longer. He therefore repaid, with intereſt, the affront he had received; fought the Engliſhman with a ſharp ſword; pierced his ſhoulder, and threw him to the earth. But, inſtead of the glory which he expected to acquire for this action, he was, on his return to France, put into priſon, by the deciſion of the Conſtable and the Marſhals of France, for having jouſted without the permiſſion of the King; and, above all, againſt a ſtranger, the ſafety of whoſe perſon had been intruſted to his care: and he would have ſuffered baniſhment for his crime, if the lords and the ladies had not obtained the remiſſion of a fault they could not help praiſing in their hearts.

THE law, which exacted the permiſſion of the King for theſe encounters, was not always ſtrictly adhered to, eſpecially in latter times. In 1409, a great Engliſh lord, called Cornwall, having paſſed into France, under a ſafe conduct, to jouſt for the love of

of his lady, found a knight ready to engage with him in this proof of love; when, juſt as they were on the point of beginning the combat, they were ſeparated by order of the King; who, at the ſame time, made a law, which forbade any, in future, from being received into the kingdom of France, to engage in any feat of arms, or in any battle, unleſs he had the badge of permiſſion from the King of France, or the court of parliament.

A SINGULAR proof of this ardour for glory happened in 1414. Twenty brave knights, of illuſtrious birth, came from Portugal, with a magnificent equipage, to ſupplicate the King of France, that he would permit them to prove the valour of ſo many French knights, either in duel, men againſt men, or in engagements of an equal number; on condition that the victor ſhould kill the vanquiſhed, if he did not freely ſurrender. They ſaid they had ſworn this among themſelves: and though the wiſeſt people thought that there was

the more cruelty in this challenge, as it was lighting up diſcord between people who had no cauſe of hatred, it was not poſſible to turn them from their purpoſe; and it was as difficult for the King of France to refuſe his nation the honour of cooling the blood of thoſe, who would otherwiſe have eternally vaunted their courage, and the cowardice of the French. So ardent were the French knights to prove their courage, that they told the king, but with a polite gallantry of manner, that if the devil himſelf was to come from hell to make ſuch a challenge, there would be people enough in their kingdom who would engage with him. Their requeſt was granted. But though the Portugueſe, in this conteſt, ſhewed much experience and great valour, the French gained the day.—Another Portugueſe was not more fortunate againſt a ſquire of Bretagne, who, in a combat which laſted an hour and a half, with heavy blows of the mace, and ſuch rapid ſhowers of

bloody ſtrokes, as were terrible to behold, had never once lifted up his viſor to take breath for a moment. And ſeveral other Portugueſe were defeated, which (ſays the hiſtorian of the reigns of Charles the Sixth and Seventh) a little humbled the arrogance of that nation.

To theſe combats might be added thoſe which were propoſed in the diverſe factions, which have too often divided the French nation and its princes, the Orleanois, the Burgundians, the Armagnacs, and the Royaliſts; with that celebrated challenge, in 1590, after the raiſing of the ſiege of Paris, which Henry the Fourth offered, by a herald, to the Duke de Mayenne, to determine their quarrel; that a deciſive engagement might at once end the calamities of France.

THE combats related above, eſtabliſhed the fame of thoſe particular knights only who engaged in them. It is now time to

view the common efforts of the whole body of knights, for the honour and defence of the ſtate: and, inſtead of enlarging on the moſt glorious periods of the French hiſtory, it may be proper to ſelect the unfortunate events which happened in the reigns of King John and of the three Charles's his ſucceſſors; as they would probably be choſen by the enemies of France, to prove their ſuperiority over that nation; which would perhaps have never been conquered, if it had not believed itſelf invincible, and diſdained that prudence and wiſdom which are no leſs neceſſary in war than in council.

KING JOHN continued a long time priſoner, with ſeveral princes of the blood. The members of the ſtate, ſeparated from their head, remained almoſt inactive, or divided amongſt each other; and made a weak reſiſtance to the common enemy: in fine, all things ſeemed to threaten the total

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ruin of Chivalry. A faction, known by the name of La Jacquerie, formed itſelf in the Beauvois, extended through the provinces, and leagued together to give the laſt ſtroke to this illuſtrious body. More than a hundred thouſand peaſants, armed, reſolved to exterminate the nobility, to ravage the lands, to burn the caſtles, and to maſſacre the knights, the ſquires, and, above all, the gentry, without ſparing either women or children. Their body accumulated as they ſpread over the country; and to ſignalize their inveterate hatred againſt the nobles, and, as it were, to inſult the tenderneſs and humanity of Chivalry, they extolled as a virtue the moſt brutal ferocity, and the moſt barbarous inhumanity. The Ducheſs of Normandy, the wife of the Regent, the Ducheſs of Orleans, and three hundred ladies and young gentlewomen, were at Meaux, with the Duke of Orleans, in the utmoſt terror for their ſituation. Some detachments of theſe madmen, joined by

others, who flocked to them daily from Paris and its environs, thought themſelves ſure of dividing a ſpoil, which it ſeemed impoſſible to prevent their ſeizing. The inhabitants had opened their gates; and, in concert with the faction, had reduced theſe noble ladies, and their train, to refuge themſelves in the frontier of Meaux (a part ſeparated from the reſt of the town by the river Marne). The danger was extreme; there was no exceſs which might not be dreaded from this furious banditti, whom nothing intimidated, and by whom nothing was reſpected. The Count de Foix, and the Captal of Buch, who, juſt at this criſis, returned from the cruſade of Pruſſia, learned theſe fatal accounts at Chalons. Though they had only ſixty lances (that is to ſay, ſixty knights) and their ordinary retinue, they immediately took the reſolution to go and join themſelves to the ſmall number of thoſe, who defended the fortreſs of Meaux. The honour of the ladies, ſo expoſed, did not

permit

permit the Count de Foix to reflect on the danger; nor the Captal of Buch to remember that he was an Engliſhman. With heroic ardour he took advantage of the liberty, which the truce between France and England gave him, to follow thoſe inclinations of heart, which, in brave knights, were more powerful than national enmity. — Theſe valiant officers had no ſooner joined the Duke of Orleans, than the Jacquiers collected together, diſpoſing themſelves ſo, as to make one common effort to reap the fruits of their crimes, and fulfil the meaſure of their wickedneſs. Theſe brave knights and their train had no other apparent reſource but inevitable death; nor any other ramparts to oppoſe to the rebels, than the banner of the Duke of Orleans, that of the Count de Foix, and the pennon, or ſtandard, of the Captal of Buch. With only this defence, they open the gates, and march intrepidly to the enemy. On the firſt view of their fierce aſpect, a panic

ſeized the troops of La Jacquerie; the knights made day ſhine through their trembling ranks; killed ſeven thouſand men on the ſpot; and returned triumphant to the ladies, whom they had ſo glorioufly ſaved from deſtruction. Memorable day! —day equally renowned for the heroes and the ladies, whoſe power had infuſed ſuch courage, and produced ſuch ſhining exploits of valour.—Enguerrand de Couci purſued, on all ſides, the ſcattered remainder of theſe robbers; and compleated the extermination of a faction, which had ſworn the deſtruction of all the French nobility, and conſequently the ruin of the whole kingdom.

CHARLES the Fifth, convinced of the utility and importance of Chivalry, by the experience he had of it, during his regency, did not, when he mounted the throne, neglect an inſtitution ſo capable of advancing the great objects of his policy. His orders, ſeconded by the brave

Du Gueſclin, revived in the nobility, and in their armies, the ancient ſpirit and diſcipline; and this prince ſoon proved the advantage of ſuch a well regulated militia. He was hereby enabled to ſend ſeveral armies into the different provinces of his kingdom, the whole of which was indeed a field of battle; ſo great was the multitude of enemies with which he was ſurrounded:—while he himſelf remained in the center, directing the different movements of this vaſt body: and, being the ſoul of all their actions, his conduct met with the reward it merited; for, in a few campaigns, he left to his enemies only a hamlet, or ſingle poſt, in that vaſt territory, of which they had been the maſters. Chivalry, thus revived with luſtre and prudence, reſtored to the French what imprudence had cauſed them to loſe.

IF the French knights thus exemplified their courage in the reign of Charles the Fifth, and delivered France from its calamities,

calamities, they acquired no leſs honour, in the beginning of the reign of Charles the Sixth, by their vigilance and activity in preventing the misfortunes with which the ſtate was threatened: which will be eaſily ſeen, if we reflect on the ſituation of the kingdom, when Charles the Sixth mounted the throne. The Ghentois, or people of Ghent, who were formidable for their multitude and their fury, armed againſt the Count of Flanders, their liege lord, whoſe ſuzerain, or lord paramount, was the King of France; and they ſtrengthened themſelves by an alliance with the King of England, promiſing to aid him in his chimerical rights over the empire of France. Charles, ſupported by his knights, flew to the aſſiſtance of his vaſſals; attacked, broke, and put to flight the enemy, with the ſlaughter of ſix-and-twenty thouſand men left dead on the ſpot.

SUCH a glorious beginning promiſed a peaceful reign; and inſured that affection

affection to the prince, which is the never-failing pledge of his proſperity. Nevertheleſs, the diviſion among the French princes, arming one againſt another during the dreadful malady of their ſovereign, announced new misfortunes to the ſtate; yet, to the end of his life, reſpect for, and attachment to, the perſon of their king, ſuſpended the cruel effects of theſe diſſentions. But at laſt his death plunged the nation into that fatal abyſs of calamity, which had ſo long been dreaded. The French beheld the ſcepter paſs into the hands of ſtrangers; the legitimate heir diſpoſſeſſed of his right, confined to a ſingle city of his kingdom, and inveſted only with the ſhadow of authority,—wanting almoſt neceſſaries, and in a condition to envy the felicity of every individual in his kingdom. What now was become of Chivalry? It was fallen, with the monarch, into a lethargic deſpondency: when one lady re-animates the ſleeping king; and another, in the habit of war, preſents

preſents herſelf before the nation. Thus thoſe, whoſe honour had been defended by Chivalry, became a defence to its honour in return. On the ſignal of an armed woman, the French beheld the image of Chivalry raiſed from the dead. All range under the ſtandard of this heroine! It reſumes its ancient vigour; the triumphant king is reſtored to all his rights; and the nation recovers its legitimate ſovereign.

FROM the time of Charles the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, their ſucceſſors, at the peril of their lives, have always taken arms, either to deliver their people from domeſtic calamities, on the vexations of particular lords; or to oppoſe thoſe powers, who have invaded the dominions of France. The knights, ever the faithful ſupports of the throne, were the inſeparable companions of the prince in theſe continued labours; and, being always protected by the ſovereign, were the protectors of his ſtate. To repeat all their triumphs,

triumphs, would be to repeat the hiſtory of the French nation; ſince the other bodies of militia were weak defenders, in compariſon, of the glory of France. Some archers, and a multitude of common people, very ill diſciplined, were chiefly uſeful in deſpoiling thoſe, whom the knights had routed and overcome. The knights alone ſuſtained all the weight of war, made and defended the ſieges, and were always equally ready for combating on horſeback or on foot, for forcing retrenchments, and mounting to aſſaults. On theſe occaſions, the knights put in practice what they had learnt in the tournaments, which always repreſented ſome military action, or attack of places. I will not aſſert they dug, as in real ſieges, ſubterraneous routes, to ſink the ramparts on one ſide, and on the other, to render this fruitleſs, by filling them up again; but it is certain they regarded the ſpringing of mines as the

moſt

moſt noble, becauſe the moſt perilous, enterprize of war. In 1388, the duke of Bourbon beſieging the caſtle of Verteuil, in Angoumois, cauſed a mine to be opened, in which he fought a long time, ſword in hand, againſt a ſquire, who commanded in the abſence of his captain. They had given and received ſeveral ſtrokes; when the ſquire hearing the cry of Bourbon!—Bourbon!—Our Lady! [this was the cry of the duke]—finds, with amazement, he is at blows with his prince: he falls back with reſpect, touched with the honour he has juſt received; he delivers up his arms, gives up the keys of the place, and is made a knight by this illuſtrious enemy, againſt whom he vows never more to be armed.

HISTORY, after this, ſpeaks of theſe ſubterranean combats; but it gives no inſtance more memorable than that at the ſiege of Melun, in 1420. On its being

ſaid,

ſaid, that in mines the moſt valiant actions were performed, it was made known, that if any perſons wiſhed for this honour, they ſhould preſent themſelves. Several knights and ſquires engaged either in ſingle combat, or two againſt two, in this mine: it was narrow, and ſo crooked, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to manage the battle-axe, without ſhortening it; which done, they could not yet reach each other; for there was a thick board, placed acroſs the mine, breaſt high; and the combatants were expreſsly forbid to paſs either over or under it. Flambeaux, and other lights, rendered theſe feats of arms viſible, which otherwiſe muſt have been buried in profound darkneſs. The king of England, and the duke of Burgundy, made ſeveral knights, as did the lords alſo, of thoſe who had ſhewn feats of valour in this mine; ordered trumpets and minſtrels to ſound, and made great joy in this ſiege: as did the lord of Barbaſan, who commanded in the

place;

place; and ſupplied the want of martial inſtruments, by the bells of the city.

THE combats of the ſword, the axe, and the dagger, which followed the jouſts, did more particularly give them the name of tournaments, becauſe of the action of the champions, who turned in them continually; whereas the jouſts, or combats of lances, paſſed in a ſtraight line. The appearance of the ladies gave animation to theſe preparatives of war; and it was a noble ſpectacle to behold the latter, placed in their ſplendid lodges or booths, opening the curtains which ornamented and ſheltered them, to look out and view the noble games, which kept them in anxious ſuſpenſe. Thus was the whole a ſchool in which every manœuvre of war was developed. The jouſts repreſented ſingle combats; the tournaments, the ſkirmiſhes that happen in war; and the combats of the multitude, general battles: and in the Pas d'Armes were repreſented the attack

attack and defence of bridges, paſſes, defiles; the caſtilles, the aſſaults of towers, and the combats of the barriers, approaches and retreats; and the jouſts in mines were to exhibit the laſt efforts that could be made to force the place from the enemy.

IN the account of the tournaments given at Pleſſis-lès-Tours, for the marriage of Madame Claude of France, daughter of Lewis the Twelfth, were repreſented combats of the multitude. The prize of honour for thoſe who had performed the higheſt deeds, to prevent the decline of valour, was every where in uſe, where Chivalry extended its laws; and, in ſo many examples, that which is given in the hiſtory of Edward the Third, king of England, and the prince of Wales, his ſon, ſurnamed the Black Prince, may be cited with juſt preference; becauſe theſe examples are the moſt memorable, and the

beſt fitted to inſtruct in the ceremonies of this wiſe inſtitution.——Theſe two princes, it is true, were the moſt redoubtable adverſaries that the French nation ever had: but the ancient French knights, admirers of virtue, even in their enemies, would not have diſavowed the higheſt eulogies that could have been given them; ſince Edward and his ſon owed their great ſucceſs to their zeal for Chivalry.—Of what import is it from whence examples are borrowed? It may be ſaid, without breach of truth, that all the heroic virtues, and above all the courteſy and humanity, that reigned at that time in the Chriſtian ſtates, were the effect of Chivalry, and equally belonged to all the orders of knights.

JOINVILLE thus finiſhes the eulogy of Meſſire Henry de Cône, his uncle, who died covered with wounds in an action againſt the Turks: "I will teſtify of him, that

that he had been in thirty-ſix battles, and many feats of war; and that he had, in a number of them, carried off the prize." King John of France, deſirous to re-animate Chivalry, commanded that, on the evening and day of the firſt public feaſt in the royal houſe, there ſhould be a table of honour, at which ſhould be ſeated nine of the braveſt men, in imitation of the nine worthies, who ſhould be found at that feaſt; and that they ſhould be admitted into his new order of the Knights of the Star. They were to be choſen from the three different ranks of knights princes, bannerets, and batchelors; and every year this cuſtom was to be repeated.

IN the defiance of arms, propoſed during the ſiege of Arras, at Lens, in Artois, between four Frenchmen, whoſe chief was the Baſtard of Bourbon, a child of ſeven or eight years old;—four Burgundians, headed by the Chevalier Cottebrune, who was afterward marechal, were

their oppoſers. The chevalier, who was a knight of a great ſize, as well as of great valour, had his lances brought, the fineſt and longeſt that could be ſeen; but when he knew he had to do with a young boy, he got lances ſo made, and he managed them ſo courteouſly, that, in the courſe of arms with the Baſtard, he avoided the poſſibility of wounding him.

THE Chevalier Bayard ſhewed the greateſt humanity and charity towards his enemies; ſparing their property, and paying, as he went along, for all he was furniſhed with. Being told, that it was permitted, in an enemy's country, to live at their expence,—he replied, "It is ſo; but I think we ought not to do all that is permitted: the right of war is one thing, the right of juſtice another: I rebuke not what others do, but I will not do it myſelf." On taking a prize, one of his knights, who was not preſent, expreſſing a grudge for the advantage

Bayard had gained, he generouſly gave him half, which was ſeven thouſand five hundred ducats;—for it was a great prize;—and the other half he beſtowed on his brave ſoldiers: ſo forgiving was he, and ſo liberal was his nature, that he reſerved none for himſelf.

EDWARD the Third had the generoſity to crown an enemy, who had not ſhewn him the leaſt reſpect. In 1347, a calm ſeemed to reign between the French and the Engliſh, on the faith of a truce, when the lord Geoffrey de Charni, who commanded at St. Omer, unfaithful to the moſt eſſential duty of a loyal knight, and puſhed on by an indiſcreet zeal for the intereſts of his country, dared to form, without the knowledge of the king, the deſign of ſurpriſing Calais. Edward, informed of this project, paſſed the ſea, almoſt alone, with his ſon, the prince of Wales; and ſcarcely had he ſet his foot on ſhore, when he

ranged himſelf under the banner of the lord of Mauni, his ſubject, to whom he had given the command; and marched againſt the French, who were ranged in battle at the gates of the city, of which they already believed themſelves maſters. They attacked each other, with equal ardour, in the obſcurity of the night: the king himſelf came to arms with Euſtache de Ribaumont, a fierce and hardy knight, who twice overthrew him to the ground: the monarch ſtill riſing with new ardour, overcame at laſt, and forced this deſperate enemy to yield up his ſword, and to ſurrender. The next day, in the morning, the victorious Engliſh entered the city, with the principal French lords, whom they had made priſoners.

EDWARD was deſirous to celebrate his victory, and the day, together; it being the firſt day of the year 1348. He gave a ſupper to his knights, after having cauſed them,

them, and the French knights alſo, to be dreſſed in new robes. "The king," ſays Froiſſart, "ſat down, and made the French knights ſit alſo; treated them honourably, and ordered them to be ſerved with the firſt courſe; the gentle prince of Wales, and the knights of England, with the ſecond courſe, who went and ſeated themſelves at another table. When ſupper was over, the tables were removed; and the king remained in the hall, between the French and Engliſh knights. His head was bare, and he wore a chaplet of fine pearls. Then began the king," adds Froiſſart, "to converſe, going from one to the other; and after having made the lord de Charni, the chief of the enterprize, ſome reproaches, mixed with a ſoft and engaging pleaſantry, on the deſign he had ſhewn to deprive him of Calais, — the king came to Euſtache de Ribaumont: 'You are the knight, in the world, who have the moſt valiantly aſſaulted the enemy,' ſaid he,

'and defended your own perſon; nor have I ever found any in battle, who, man to man, have given me ſo much trouble as you have done: I therefore give you the prize, by a juſt deciſion, above all the knights of my court.' The king then took his chaplet, that he wore on his head, which was very rich and ſplendid, and put it on the head of the lord Euſtache, and ſaid, 'I give you this chaplet, for having the beſt combated, this day, of thoſe without, or of thoſe within; and I beſeech you to wear it through the year, for the love of me. I know that you are a gay and gallant knight, and very willingly aſſociate with the ladies; tell them, therefore, wherever you go, that it is I who have made you this preſent, if you quit your priſon, and you may quit it to-morrow, if you pleaſe."

A DAY ſtill more fatal to France, and, nevertheleſs, moſt honourable to Chivalry

and humanity, was that in which the Prince of Wales rendered, after the battle of Poitiers, to king John, his priſoner, the nobleſt teſtimonies of reſpect and veneration. He conſtantly refuſed to ſit down at the table of that monarch. "It appears to me (ſaid this gracious prince) that you have great reaſon to rejoice, though the day was not yours; for you obtained in it the high fame of valour, and ſurpaſſed all the beſt warriors of France. I do not ſay this, dear ſire, to praiſe you; for all thoſe of our party, who have ſeen the whole engagement, have in truth granted this, and given you the prize and the chaplet." To this we may add the recital of Olivier de la Marche, who ſays that, in 1452, the duke of Burgundy (after a hot ſkirmiſh between his troops and the revolted Ghentois, in which many lords diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and particularly the lord of Lalain) tho' he knew his people had ſuffered much

from

from them, yet waited in the Boulevard, by the river, for theſe officers, and had his ſupper brought there; invited theſe knights to ſup with him; and cauſed the lord de Lalain to ſit at table, and to be ſeated above him; ſaying, "that he would preſerve the good and ancient cuſtoms, which were ever to honour the knight, whoſe bravery was the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the day of engagement."

Of all the recompences of Chivalry, the moſt glorious, without doubt, were theſe prizes of valour, and the marks of honour, given by thoſe whoſe judgment could not be diſputed; and this was, indeed, a tribunal of glory without appeal.

The Engliſh alſo gave the ſame honours to thoſe who, in a day of action, had ſurpaſſed all other combatants. "James d' Endelée, a brave Engliſh knight, after the battle of Poitiers, received

ceived the higheſt eulogies from the Prince of Wales. "By your valour," ſaid this amiable prince, who was himſelf the knight covered with glory, "you have acquired grace and renown from us all; and are held, by indiſputable laws, to be the braveſt." "Monſieur James," repeated he again, "I, and all ours, hold you, this day, for the beſt and moſt valiant on our ſide.

As Chivalry had always ſtudied to repreſent in the tournaments a faithful picture of the labours and perils of war; ſo, in war, were always faithfully preſerved the courteſy and the gallantry which reigned in the tournaments. At the encounters made in the mines, in the ſiege of Arras, all was regulated with the ſame courteſy as at jouſts; even ſo far, that the vanquiſhed was, by ſtipulation, to give to the victor a diamond, with a hundred crowns. The Count d'Eu, a young and valiant knight, having defended the paſ-

ſage

ſage ſo valiantly, that Montaigu could never diſpoſſeſs him; the latter paid him moſt willingly the diamond, to preſent to his lady.

OFTEN, in the war, the knights have taken the names of Purſuivants of Love; and, adorned with the pictures and devices of their ladies, have engaged in the moſt dangerous combats, ſkirmiſhes, and battles. Nor was any thing eſteemed more ſerious, than to diſpute with the enemy the adoring a lady more virtuous and more beautiful than the miſtreſs of his rival; and the declaration that he loved with more paſſion and truth. As my lord John Chandos, an Engliſhman, a little before the battle of Poitiers, had advanced to obſerve the French army, he was met, on his return, by my lord John of Clermont, one of the marechals of France, who had been viewing, on horſeback, in the ſame manner, the Engliſh

army. Each of them (ſays Froiſſart) wore the ſame device, which was blue, worked with rays of gold round the border, and which they always wore over their upper veſtment. Said my lord of Clermont, "Since when here you borrowed my device?" "And you mine (replied lord Chandos) for it is as much mine as yours." "I deny that (ſaid my lord of Clermont) and if there was not a ſuſpenſion of arms between us and your party, I would ſoon convince you, you had no right to wear it." Said my lord of Chandos, "You will find me, tomorrow, equipped to defend it, and to prove, by deeds of arms, that my right is as good as yours." My lord of Clermont replied, "Theſe are the boaſtings of you Engliſh! — You cannot invent any thing new; but when you behold it, you are ſtruck with its beauty, and deſire to poſſeſs it." They then paſſed aſide, nor was more then ſaid or done, but each returned to his people.

THE

THE lord of Languerant, in 1378, having placed forty men, with lances, in an ambuſcade, commanded them to wait for him, till he was returned from reconnoitering the fortreſs of Cardillac, occupied by the Engliſh. He advanced alone to the barriers, and addreſſing himſelf to the guard, "Where is Bernard Courant, your captain? (ſaid he)—tell him that the lord Languerant demands to jouſt with him; he is ſo good and ſo valiant, he will not refuſe him, for the love of his lady; and if he does refuſe, it will turn to his great diſhonour; and I ſhall ſay, wherever I come, that he refuſed a jouſt of lances, from cowardice." Bernard did not refuſe; and Languerant returned no more to his lance-men, for he loſt his life on the ſpot.

"BUT will it be further believed, and yet it happened (ſays Froiſſart), at the ſiege of the caſtle of de Touri, in Beauce, that the beſieged and the beſiegers, in the

the midſt of the action, ſuſpended their hoſtilities, to leave the field free for their ſquires, who wiſhed to immortalize the beauty of their ladies, by fighting for them? Or can it be conceived poſſible, that in a hot fire of the ſquadrons of the French and Engliſh, who were met near Cherbourg, in 1379, the knights and ſquires, having diſmounted to fight cloſer, ſtopped in the midſt of theſe furious tranſports, to give one amongſt them, who alone had remained on horſeback, the leiſure to challenge that knight, among his enemies, whom he eſteemed to excel the moſt in love? A challenge of this kind never failed to be accepted. The ſquadrons remained immoveable ſpectators of the combat between theſe two lovers; and never reſumed the engagement, till they had beheld one of them pay his life for the title of ſervant to his lady; which he might otherwiſe, perhaps, never have obtained from her own hand. This ſingular combat was followed by a moſt

bloody

bloody action: and Froiſſart adds, "Thus paſſed the whole, as I was at that time informed." Similar to this account, we ſee the Greek heroes ſtop, in the midſt of a charge, to relate their own genealogies, and that of their horſes. In the wars of Henry the Fourth, and Lewis the Fourteenth, they piſtoled one another for the love of their ladies; and at the ſiege of a place, an officer, who was wounded to death, wrote on the gabion the name of his miſtreſs, as he was rendering his laſt ſigh.

BESIDES the prize deſtined to the braveſt knight, warriors were ſometimes preſented with chains of gold, which they hung at their necks, and the links of which were increaſed in number, according to their merit. The kings of France, to the year 1668, gave chains of gold to the colonels of the Swiſs regiments, and ſtill preſent them to the ambaſſadors of that nation, on the renewal of peace.

They

They often alſo grant ſuch a diſtinction to the other officers of their armies, and even to thoſe of their allies. Lewis the Fourteenth, in 1666, ſent his order of St. Michael to admiral Ruiter, with a chain of gold, and his portait; and ſeveral of the kings of France have carried their generoſity ſo far, as to recompenſe their moſt redoubtable enemies with theſe glorious marks of their eſteem. Lewis the Twelfth put on the neck of Gonſalvo a chain of gold, to mark the reſpect he had for his valour. I imagine theſe chains originally ſerved to faſten the buckler, and therefore ſeemed a token of the intereſt taken in the preſervation of the knight's perſon.—This preſent has ſince received an allegorical ſignification; and thoſe who received it were thereby informed, their valour only required limitation. Said Lewis the Eleventh, as he gave a chain of gold, with five hundred crowns, to the brave Raoul de Lannoi, " By the God who

came to us at Eaſter, my friend, you are too furious in combat! We muſt chain you; for I would not loſe you, but deſire to obtain your ſervice on many future occaſions." It was thus that the warlike policy of the Romans had invented bracelets, crowns, collars, and other military diſtinctions, according to the different kinds of ſervice and valour rendered to their country.

IF this love of glory and of the fair ſex was thus employed with ſucceſs in Chivalry, the bond of friendſhip, ſo honourable in the ſight of all men, was abſolutely neceſſary to unite theſe rival heroes, without which their emulations would have become fatal ſources of diviſion and diſcord. This inconvenience, ſo often fatal to ſtates, was prevented by the ſocieties, or fraternities of arms, formed among the children of knights; and thoſe knights, who encouraged them, were conſidered as ſo many fathers of families,

milies, and theſe as their common children. But this aſſociation was more viſible, and ſtill ſtronger, between thoſe knights who became friends or brothers in arms. A mutual eſteem and confidence gave birth to theſe engagements. Thoſe who were often in the ſame expeditions, conceived for each other that tender inclination, which a virtuous heart never fails to poſſeſs, when it meets with virtues ſimilar to its own. To confirm theſe bonds of love, they engaged in many high enterprizes, and ſwore to partake equally in the labours and the glory, the dangers and the profits of them, and never to abandon each other. "Brothers or companions of the ſame order could never challenge each other (ſays Brantome) without the permiſſion of the king; and the mareehal de Gié, condemned to death, received a pardon from the king, becauſe he conſidered him as a brother, having conferred on him the honour of knighthood."

THE fraternities of arms were contracted in ſeveral different ways. "Three knights (ſays Lancelot de Lac) cauſed themſelves to be bled at the ſame time, and mingled their blood together." And M. du Cange cites ſeveral examples of this kind, drawn from remote hiſtory, particularly of the countries beyond the ſea. If this practice, as he juſtly obſerves, was a barbarous one, nothing was more oppoſite to barbarity than the ſentiment it inſpired, which was the moſt cordial preference and affection. Other companions in arms imprinted on their oaths the moſt ſacred characters of religion. To unite the cloſer with each other, they kiſſed together the wafer, preſented to the faithful in the maſs; and they ſometimes received the communion at the ſame time. Nevertheleſs, when the duke of Burgundy, in contempt of this ſolemn engagement, cauſed his brother in arms, the duke of Orleans, to be aſſaſſinated, he found an apologiſt in Dr. John Petit,

who feared not to maintain, that, in caſe of alliance, promiſe, and reſpect, from one knight to another, in whatever manner the union is made, if it ſhould happen that it turns out to the prejudice of one of the parties, or of his confederates, his wife, or his children,—he is not obliged to abide by it. But this propoſition having been ſubmitted to the deciſion of the biſhop and the univerſity of Paris, was condemned, with an unanimous voice, as erroneous both in faith and manners, and opening the way to the blackeſt deceit and perjury.

THESE kind and brotherly unions were moſt common between private gentlemen, who had formerly ſerved together. Brantome, in ſpeaking of Mr. de Teligni, ſays, "My great friend, my brother in alliance and reſpect." Baſſompierre and Schomberg called each other brothers; as did the chevalier de Cramail and de Grammont, in 1621. And Madame de

Sevigné, who wrote in 1674, ſays, "I eſteem Barbantanne very much; he is one of the braveſt men in the world; of a valour almoſt romantic: I have a thouſand times heard Buſſi ſpeak of him; they were brothers in arms."

THE moſt illuſtrious warriors, in the preceding ages, had given examples of this friendſhip. The king of Sicily, in 1439, became brother in arms to the conſtable Artus, the third duke of Bretagne. The count d' Auxerre was companion in arms, which means brother, to the count Vert, at the battle of Cocherel, in 1364. And Froiſſart, in the recital of the aſſaſſination of the conſtable Cliſſon, in 1392, ſays, "The lord de Couci, who kept cloſe in his palace, having heard the news, mounted his horſe the next morning, and came haſtily to the hotel of the high conſtable, behind the temple, where they had carried his body; for they had dearly loved each other, and were brothers

and

and companions in arms.—Beſides other ceremonies, they ſometimes exchanged their arms with one another, as a bond of love; as we have ſeen done in Homer, by Glaucus and Diomede. The engagement, then reciprocally taken, conſiſted in never abandoning their companion, in whatever ſituation he ſhould be; to aid him with their perſon and property, to the hour of death; and even to maintain for him, in certain caſes, the challenge of battle, if he died before he had accompliſhed it.

THE brother in arms was to be the enemy of thoſe who were enemies of his brother, and the friend of all thoſe who were friends to him: both of them were to divide their preſent and future wealth, and employ both that and their lives for the deliverance of each other, if taken priſoner. The knights of the order of the Creſcent, were formed on this model.—Other aſſociations of this kind were

made for certain periods; as for expeditions by ſea or land, on ſome martial enterprize; as that of Saintré, Boucicaut, and Regnault de Roie, who departed together, as brothers in arms, to go againſt the Saracens; and repaſſed afterwards through Hungary, the king of which they aſſiſted in the war againſt the marquis of Moravia. They took a tender leave of each other, when this war was concluded.

IT appears alſo that theſe mutual adoptions have ſometimes been limited to an aſſault or defence; as that of the brave captain St. Colombe; who being wounded to death in an aſſault at the ſiege of Rouen, where Monſieur de Guiſe commanded, this prince viſited and comforted him, ſaying, that he ſhould ever bear a tender part in his fortune and honour, as his brother and companion in arms.

THE

THE violation of the oaths of fraternity was the higheſt reproach; and became ſo to the duke of Burgundy, when he failed in his engagement with the duke of Orleans.—But to this example may be oppoſed that of the duke de Bretagne, who was long an irreconcileable enemy to the high conſtable Cliſſon. At laſt, hatred gave place to ſentiments inſpired by diſpoſitions adopted on becoming brothers in arms; for there never was a ſincerer friendſhip than that which reigned in both their hearts, to the death of the duke; and Cliſſon continued it through life to the children of the duke, for he was always their father. In the peace eſtabliſhed between the duke de Bretagne and the king, in 1393—"the good faith (ſays the Monk of St. Denys) with which reſtitutions were made, and damages on all ſides repaired, was admired by all. But what compleated the joy of the Bretons, was, that the hatred, formerly irreconcileable, between the duke and Olivier de Cliſſon,

Cliſſon, was on a ſudden converted into a new and firm oath of brotherhood and friendſhip; and the duke coming into France, to accompliſh the marriage of his eldeſt ſon with the daughter of the king, he left to the lord de Cliſſon the government of his country, and the care of his wife and children."

ONE more inſtance I cannot forbear giving of this league of affection, which we read in Brantome:—A young gentleman, of the illuſtrious houſe of Auton, in Xaintonge, left his eldeſt brother to enjoy his rich and mighty lands, and became poſſeſſed with the ardent deſire, as is cuſtomary with younger brothers, to go and ſee the world, inſtead of amuſing himſelf at the tombs of his anceſtors. He ſhut up his houſe, took what money he could amaſs, and, aſſociating with himſelf, and taking for his brother in alliance and fortune, another younger brother of Angoumois, of the houſe of Berneuil,

they

they gave their cares to the wind; and, ſwearing never to abandon each other, but to live and die together, they ſet out with mutual tenderneſs and joy to ſeek their fortune.

THE aſſiſtance due to the brother in arms, was preferred to that the ladies had a right to exact. A young lady having in vain claimed the protection of a knight, the latter excuſed himſelf from it, alledging the neceſſity which he was at that time under of flying to the aſſiſtance of his brother. But ſuch a juſtification would not have been received, if he had failed in attendance on his ſovereign. The duty owed to the prince was preferred to all other duties: brothers in arms, of different nations, were only united together as long as their ſovereigns were united: and if their princes declared war againſt each other, it forced their reſpective ſubjects to the diſſolution of thoſe ſocieties. But, excepting this ſingle caſe, nothing was more

indiſſoluble than theſe bonds of fraternity: they even wore the ſame habits and armour; they wiſhed the enemy to miſtake them for each other; and to run an equal riſk of thoſe dangers, with which each might be threatened.—Charles the Eighth, at the battle of Fornoue, choſe nine of his braveſt officers, and gave them a compleat armour, exactly the ſame as his own. He deceived, by this ſtratagem, a troop of enemies, who, being leagued together to kill him, ſought him through all the ranks, and thought themſelves aſſured of him, whenever they met one of theſe nine brave nobles. The honour the king did to theſe illuſtrious warriors, in the choice of them, was the more ſignal, as it engaged them in a fraternity of arms with their ſovereign.

THIS brotherly union was ſo entire, that, as we have ſaid, they never owned any friends, that were not equally the friends of both. The duke of Bourbon thought

thought himſelf obliged to refuſe, from Henry de Tranſtamare, king of Caſtile, a conſiderable ſum, merely becauſe that prince was enemy to Boucicaut, his brother in arms: and knights, thus allied, never engaged in any affair, but in concert with their brother knight.

BOUCICAUT paſſing, on his return from Spain, by the count of Foix's, was ſeveral times at his table, with ſome Engliſh knights. As they judged, by the particular abſtinence they obſerved in him during the repaſts, that he had vowed ſome enterprize of arms, they told him, "If that was all, there would ſoon be found one, who ſhould deliver him from his vow." Boucicaut replied, "Had he combated alone, they might have decided the matter; but he had a companion in arms, without whom he could do nothing: but that if any of them wiſhed to engage, he was ready; only that, with their permiſſion, he muſt take time to make it known to his companion."

THE

THE Engliſh being aſſembled a little before the battle of Pontvalain, held a council, to deliberate in what manner they ſhould attack the conſtable Du Gueſclin. One amongſt them, called Hue de Carvalai, opened his mind in theſe terms: "By the gods, Bertrand du Gueſclin is the moſt valiant knight that reigns at preſent! He is duke, count, and conſtable, and was long my companion in Spain; where I found in him honour, liberality, and friendſhip ſo abundant, with ſo much firmneſs and humility, and with ſuch an enterpriſing ſoul, that there is not a man, from Spain to Calabria, but knows there is not that thing in the world I would not adventure, to ſerve and accompany him, day and night,—to live and die with him,—were it not that he wars againſt my lord the prince. This is my ſincere opinion of this valiant knight."

AT the end of an expedition, or when any rupture between the ſovereigns annulled theſe unions, a mutual and exact account was rendered of what had been expended

expended and received, loſt and gained. The king beholding Saintré depart for the cruſade of Pruſſia, aſked him whether he and his companions had one common purſe. And, in the hiſtory of Boucicaut, we ſee he was in ſociety and account with the Engliſh knight Carvalai. The prince of Wales having declared war with Henry of Caſtile, he commanded all the Engliſh, who were then in the ſervice of that prince, to quit their Spaniſh maſter, and repair to him. Hue de Carvalai, who was of the number, being forced to ſeparate from Boucicaut, came to take his leave of him—"Gentle lord (ſaid he) we muſt now part; we, who have been together in happy companionſhip; have had the ſame will, the ſame conqueſts, and the ſame joys; nor has either received a joy that the other has not partaken of. But, in account, I think I have received more from you than I have diſpenſed; therefore I pray you that we may ſettle; and what I owe you, I will pay or

aſſign over to you."—"This is a ſermon, indeed! (ſaid Bertrand)—I have never thought of this account; nor know I whether you are indebted to me, or I to you; but I pray you, as we are to ſeparate, let us be quit herein. But, if we meet again, we will make a new debt, and will have it written: it now only remains for each of us to act nobly, and for you to follow your maſter. May that affection, which hath ever been, continue with us; and, ſince it muſt be ſo, in love let us depart!" He then kiſſed Bertrand and all his companions; and their ſeparation was moſt grievous to behold.

THE moſt proper example of the advantage of theſe aſſociations, is that of the brave du Gueſclin and Lewis de Sancerre, brothers in arms, and inſeparable companions. They laboured a long time, in union, to recover from the Engliſh a great part of Guienne; and gave ſuch perfect models of military valour, as to merit

merit the eternal acknowledgments of the people to whom they were benefactors. "It is enough (ſays the Monk of St. Denys, in the eulogy of Sancerre) to remark that he was the inſeparable companion, and brother in arms, of the famous Du Gueſclin; and that having ſeconded him in his conqueſts in Guienne, he not only maintained them after his death, but extended them by further victories.

THESE military fraternities gave to particular lords the means of engaging in enterprizes worthy of the moſt powerful ſovereigns; but it was always with the knowledge and authority of that monarch whoſe ſubjects they were. When war did not retain them in his immediate ſervice, they aſſociated together to clear a province of the robbers or enemies that infeſted it; to deliver diſtant nations, who groaned under the yoke of the infidels; to revenge an oppreſſed prince; or to dethrone an uſurper. Such were the enterprizes of

the duke of Bourbon againſt the banditti of the Lyonnois; of Saintré, in Pruſſia, againſt the infidels; and that of Du Gueſclin, in Arragon, againſt Peter the Cruel.—Boucicaut formed an order of knighthood, under the title of the White Lady with the Green Shield, to reſtore to the ladies the property taken from them by unjuſt ravagers, in the preceding wars: and he went alone, on another enterprize, purely to revenge the memory of a lord, whom they had aſſaſſinated.

THE duke of Burgundy combated twice in the liſts; once againſt the duke of Glouceſter, brother of the king of England, for the quarrel of Holland and of Hainault; and againſt the duke of Saſſe, for Madame Catharine de Chevoix, his beautiful aunt, claiming for her the right of ſucceſſion to the duchy of Luxembourg. — The ſame ardour animated two knights of Picardy, in 1425, for the maintenance of the rights of

Jacqueline

Jacqueline de Bavière, alledging that duke John of Brabant had a better right to the country and lordſhips of the ducheſs Jacqueline de Bavière, his wife, than the pretender to it, the duke of Glouceſter.

IT was at Koningſberg, Boucicaut learned that William Douglas, a Scotch lord, had been aſſaſſinated by an Engliſhman; and that his own companions neglected to obtain the juſt revenge for it. The noble and virtuous ſoul of Boucicaut revolted againſt ſo atrocious a crime. He provoked the Engliſh, and challenged any of them who ſhould dare to maintain that the Scotchman had not been unjuſtly put to death.—In the hiſtory of Charles the Sixth, by the Monk of St. Denys, the ſubſtance of the letter addreſſed to the duke of Lancaſter, the murderer of Richard the Second, king of England, was a challenge from the duke of Orleans, to combat him at the head of a hundred gentlemen; on the condition that the

vanquiſhed ſhould be at the mercy of the victor. The cartel was ill received; the herald, who brought it, ſent back without preſents, contrary to the noble cuſtom of arms; and the combat was rejected as unequal, on account of the inequality of the parties, ſince Lancaſter was mounted on the throne of England.

THERE was no country in which Chivalry did not labour uſefully, either for the public, or for particulars. Nothing was ſmall or deſpicable in the eyes of a knight, if it comprehended the welfare of any individual. Had he, in his voyages or expeditions, received the hoſpitality of the meaneſt perſon, gratitude would never ſuffer him to conſider that perſon but as a noble and generous benefactor; he declared himſelf for ever his knight; and ſwore to renounce all the glory that could be propoſed to him, to acquit himſelf of the debt; to defend, protect, and ſuccour him in time of need. This oath was

conſidered

conſidered as inviolable, if we will believe the ancient romance writers of France. And why ſhould we not, when the cuſtoms of antiquity are thought ſufficiently proved by all the ancient poets?

THUS was Chivalry, in theſe dark ages, a ſource of continual benefits; and its peculiar glories ſhone forth in the noble actions of friendſhip, gratitude, and humanity.

PART IV.

Distinctions and Honours in Chivalry, in Life, and at Death.

AT all times, and in all professions, there have been men refined enough to look upon the practice of virtue, and the satisfaction of doing good, as a sufficient recompence in itself; and it is not to be doubted but there were many knights, to whom the pleasure of having been useful to other men, and the inward testimony that a generous soul feels in the discharge of its duty, were more flattering than the applause conferred by the officers at arms, or the tumultuous cries of the people in the tournaments and the combats.

NEVER-

NEVERTHELESS, ſuch pure motives were not of a nature to impreſs the greater part even of thoſe, who piqued themſelves on thinking differently from the vulgar. A wiſe policy was therefore deſirous of multiplying the number of knights; and it was thought neceſſary to attach to this profeſſion ſome exterior advantages; to raiſe its eclat by honourable prerogatives; and to beſtow on thoſe, who exerciſed it, a diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence above all the other ſquires and the reſt of the nobility. The firſt diſtinctions were thoſe of armour and habits; and however frivolous the detail of theſe things may at firſt appear to ſome, they will become important by conſidering they were the prizes of virtue.

A LANCE of ſuch ſtrength that it could ſcarcely be broken; an helmet; an habergeon, or double coat of mail; the throat-piece; the mace; a ſhort ſword to the croſs; and a ſhield, interwoven with iron, ſword-proof, were the

arms aſſigned to the knights excluſively. The coat of arms, painted on a plain cloth, was the badge of their pre-eminence over all the other orders of the ſtate and of war. Even the ſquires were not permitted to engage with theſe knights, on any occaſion. Had they been allowed to do ſo, armed as they were only with their ſword and ſhield, a ſlight cap of iron which had no creſt, and covered with a thin cuiraſs, or breaſt-plate—how would they have been able to defend themſelves from an adverſary, almoſt invulnerable?—A young man (in the romance of Alector) offering to make known his innocence by the proof of his ſword and ſhield, adds,—"for yet, alas! knight I am not, nor bear I arms as ſuch." The ſquire that took the coat of arms before he was made a knight, was for ever excluded that honour.

THE people wore only on their journies, and even in combats, a ſort of knife, which hung down to the bottom of their

thigh.

thigh. The drieſt and lighteſt wood was uſed for the lances; as the pine, the ſycamore, the aſpin, and the linden tree: the very beſt of all were made of the aſh. The top of the lance was furniſhed with a ſteel point well tempered, an iron head, and a flag, which trailed along a vaſt length. —Barbed horſes, or horſes armed, were alſo the privilege of knights. William de Tudela ſpeaks thus: "In a formidable army I counted twenty-five thouſand ſhields, belonging to valiant ſoldiers, whoſe horſes had manes; and ten thouſand who were themſelves, and their horſes, covered over with braſs and iron, dazzling to behold." By the firſt he means the ſquires, who were never allowed to ride barbed or armed horſes; and by the latter, knights mounted on horſes, whoſe manes could not be perceived: whether it was that the armour hid them; or that the hair was cut off, that the horſes might be armed with the more eaſe. We ſhall ſee this was the caſe with ſome knights, who

had

had their hair cut off from the top of their heads. Hunters, for their convenience, have followed this cuſtom for their horſes. The knights alſo fought, at leaſt in the liſts, in long robes that came down to their heels; and their horſes were covered with houſings that touched their feet. It is not eaſy to comprehend how it was poſſible to fight in ſo embarraſſing an equipage; but the ancient ſeals prove it was the cuſtom to do ſo.

THE importance of the coat of arms may be judged of from relating an anecdote, in the hiſtory of Charles the Sixth, of the duke of Brabant, who got one made in haſte to go againſt the enemy, at the battle of Agincourt, in 1415.—"Then came the duke Anthony de Brabant, who had been ſent for ſuddenly by the king of France; he arrived in extreme haſte; and taking one of the banners of his trumpeters, and dividing it into two pieces, he made of it a coat of arms." The general

ral rule that forbade the ſquires and other perſons to challenge the knights, would then have been conſidered in the ſame light, as a private ſoldier, in our times, challenging his officer or his general. And this has paſſed into the common cuſtoms of ſociety, between perſons of different ranks; and wagers or challenges are never given without theſe reſerves, and the attentions that politeneſs requires.

FLORE, going to defend the honour of Blancheflore, who was condemned to death, by engaging in a combat with the Seneſchal who had been his judge, deſires to be made a knight; for, ſays he,

"No ſquire can of right
"Arm himſelf againſt a knight."

But as knights might abuſe their privileges, and commit violence and injuſtice againſt ſquires, ancient juriſprudence, to remedy this inconvenience, ſays the author of the Aſſizes of Jeruſalem, obliged the knight, in certain caſes, to fight on foot

foot againſt the ſquire, as he was armed with only a ſword and a ſhield. The knights loſt very early their prerogatives, by admitting their ſquires, in the fourteenth century, to mix with them in the tournaments and battles. The ſquires abuſed this condeſcenſion, took armorial enſigns, and inſenſibly appropriated to themſelves the ornaments of the knights. By this invaſion of their rights, all rules were broken, all orders were mixed, and the ancient ſubordination was totally loſt. Some knights, however, attempted to revive the ancient laws; and by ſome they were yet attended to, at the end of the ſixteenth century.

EDWARD NORRIS, the brother of colonel Norris, ſerving under the count of Leyceſtre, in 1587, had ſent to the count of Hohenlo a cartel or challenge, to demand of him reparation for an injury, in having engaged againſt him. The latter pretended that, by the laws of war, it was not permitted for a common

ſoldier,

ſoldier, as Norris was, to make ſuch a defiance without the conſent of his general. The count of Leyceſtre maintained the contrary; but, that there might be no pretext for declining the engagement, from inequality of rank, the count made Norris a knight.

IF the arms of theſquires were enriched with precious ornaments, gold, the pureſt of all metals, was reſerved for thoſe of the knights, for their ſpurs, their houſings, and the harneſs of their horſes. It was wrought in the ſtuff of which was made their robes, their cloaks, and all the parts of their veſtments and equipage. The golden harneſs (ſays a writer) for the foot, as well as the horſe, was deſtined to the knights; the king, however, granted it to the citizens whom he ennobled. In the dreſſes diſtributed to the knights and the ſquires, gold was for the firſt, and ſilver for the ſecond. In public aſſemblies, the knights, and the ladies of knights,

were perſonally diſtinguiſhed by theſe dreſſes. The wife of the knight was called Lady, that of the ſquire, Gentlewoman: and in the public records, or other writings, the titles of Don, Sire, Meſſire (a particular title of honour, equal to My Lord, My Lady, and Madam) were given to perſons of quality. The poet Euſtache Deſchamps ſets the lady and the knight in oppoſition to the gentlewoman and the ſquire.

THE uſurpations on theſe titles cauſed them, though long held up with great eclat, to become of leſs conſequence, and ſome of them to be wholly loſt. The title of Noble Lady, and Madam, was given by the kings of France to the wives of knights; thoſe of ſquires, even of the beſt rank, were ſimply Gentlewomen.—Frances of Anjou becoming a widow before her huſband was made a knight, was entitled only Mrs. Frances, not Madam. If any wives of ſquires were called by the latter title, it was becauſe they had

been widows of knights who had dignified them with the ineffaceable honours of Chivalry. The daughters of the kings of France alone, from their ſuperior rank, obtained this honour before marriage, in the quality of queens: and this extended ſo rarely to the daughters of other ſovereigns, that the heireſs of the Houſe of Burgundy, princeſs of the Low Countries, was always called Mademoiſelle of Burgundy, till the day of her marriage with the King of the Romans.—Olivier de la Marche, after the recital of the birth of the daughter of the count de Charolois, in 1456, adds, "The preparations were made for the baptiſm of Mademoiſelle of Burgundy; for in that time ſhe was not called Madame, becauſe Monſieur was not ſon of the king." Brantôme gives alſo the title of Miſtreſs to the Seneſchal of Poitou, his grandmother.

THE ſilver deſtined for the ſquires, and the gentlewomen who were their wives, marked the difference between them and perſons

perſons of an inferior ſituation, who wore only woollen ſtuffs, or cloth without gold or ſilver. Knights alone had a right to wear, particularly for the lining of their cloaks or mantles, ermine, ſable, and meniver, which were the choiceſt kinds of fur; leſs coſtly furs, of a different kind, were for the ſquires; and the pooreſt ſort of all for the people. The knight was obliged to keep up, by a magnificent exterior, the reſpect due to his title. "If (ſays Matthew de Couci) men who are not knights are obliged to honour thoſe who are, how much more ought knights to maintain their honour by fine and noble veſtments, horſes, harneſs, and ſervants? and they ought alſo thus to do honour to the other knights their peers." The long and training mantle, which enveloped the whole perſon, was particularly reſerved for the knight, as the moſt auguſt and noble decoration he could have, when he was not dreſſed in his armour. The military colour of ſcarlet, which the warriors appeared in among the Romans,

was

was choſen for this noble mantle, which was lined with ermine, or other precious furs. It was called the Mantle of Honour; and there is yet extant in France an ancient allegorical work, in verſe, under that title; with a miniature which gives the repreſentation of it. The kings of France, when they made knights, preſented to them theſe mantles; and this gift was generally accompanied with that of a palfrey, or at leaſt a horſe-bit of gold or gilded; which anſwered to the pledge given on the inveſtitures, as the mark of the alienated fief. Theſe diſtributions, which made a conſiderable article in the expences of the kings of France, were called their Livery; and were renewed by them either at the two ſeaſons of the year, ſummer and winter, ſays Laboureur, or at the plenary courts of the great feaſts. The pieces of velvet, or other ſtuffs, given now to the magiſtrates of France, are in memorial of theſe preſents; as the ancient

right of having the mantle of ermine, is figured in the atchievements of the dukes, and the preſidents *à mortier*, or preſidents of ſovereign courts, to whom belongs a cap peculiar to their office; who themſelves borrowed the faſhion of it from thoſe painted on the carpets and pavilions, under which the knights were in covert before the tournament began. In the promotion (ſays Madame Sevigné) of ſixty and of fourteen knights of the order of the Holy Ghoſt, in 1688, the king, for that time only, gave a diſpenſation to ſeveral knights, to omit wearing the mantle, that moſt ancient cuſtom of Chivalry, at the ceremony of their reception. The ordinance of the king of France alſo, in 1294, prohibited not only the wearing of coſtly furs to citizens, but the uſe of gold, precious ſtones, girdles of gold, pearls, jewels, and crowns of gold and ſilver.—A woman, whoſe huſband was only a merchant, decked herſelf with a coarſer

coarſer ſort of ſable, as being the daughter of a knight; conſidering herſelf as privileged thereby: which obliged the king to make a new edict. And this was often neceſſary, to ſtop the courſe of luxury, and to bridle the ambition of thoſe, who would uſurp what did not belong to their ſtation. And in 1486 all ſuch were again prohibited the wearing of gold and ſilk; which, by a relaxation of the laws, ſquires and gentlemen were now allowed, but with great and wiſe caution. And the attention not to confound ranks went ſo far, that, in the public ceremonies, when the knights were dreſſed in damaſk, the ſquires were only allowed ſattin; or, if the latter were allowed habits of damaſk, the former were dreſſed in velvet.—René, king of Sicily, in his treatiſe on the form of the tournament, recommends to the chiefs to give to each of the judges, choſen from among the knights, a long robe of velvet; to the two others, who were ſelected from the

ſquires, the ſame faſhioned robes, but of damaſk.—The queen having ſent to Saintré and his companions a piece of velvet, diſtinguiſhed them from the ſquires, by giving the latter damaſk.—Matthew de Couci ſpeaks thus of the engagements between three Burgundians and three Scotchmen: Two of the three champions, who advanced the firſt on horſeback, being knights, were dreſſed in long robes of black velvet, faced with rich ſable; and the third, who was only a ſquire, had a robe of ſattin faced with fur. And at the banquet of the duke of Burgundy, at Liſle, in 1454, the knights who aſſiſted at the feaſt were dreſſed in damaſk, the ſquires and the gentlemen in ſattin, the pages and the archers in woollen ſtuff. In fine, ſcarlet, and red of every kind, was appropriated to the knights, from its grandeur and brightneſs; and is now become the dreſs of the ſuperior magiſtrates and doctors in France. "Gentle lady (ſays the poet Deſchamps to Truth) I come

to tell thee, that learned doctors and grave magiſtrates are clad in rich habits, as well as valiant knights."—The word *rouge*, in the French language, to ſignify high and arrogant, was probably introduced from this colour being worn by exalted perſons; among whom was Arteville, the chief of the revolted and victorious Ghentois, who was dreſſed in robes of ſcarlet and ſanguine, a colour red as blood.—In the ancient French work, in verſe, entitled The Lover turned Shoemaker, we read "the moſt *ſanguine* are caught;" where the word *ſanguine* is put for vain, proud, arrogant. And Brantome, ſpeaking of the affair of the Swiſs, at Navarre, againſt M. de la Tremoille; "This (ſays he) was a great exploit, and a lucky hour of war; and ſo *rouge* did they become and inſolent, that all nations were by them deſpiſed; and they thought of beating all the world." And in the Vigils of Charles the Seventh, the poet making Merchandiſe one of his perſonages, ſpeaks thus: "Merchandiſe was then in vogue,

made a great ſtir, and triumphed ſo, that thoſe who uſed it became *rouge* and inſolent with the ſudden wealth gained to themſelves and their poſterity."

THE knights had another prerogative with reſpect to their dreſs, which did not extend to the ſquires. In that age, they conſidered thoſe as clerks or ſcholars, who, having received the tonſure, were married only once, or who had not eſpouſed a widow; conformably to what is now practiſed in France, in the order of St. Lazare: whereas, in general, every clerk who was married, loſt the ordinary privilege of being carried before the eccleſiaſtical judge, if he was arreſted in his ſecular habit; but if he was a knight, and if he wore the habit of a knight inſtead of that of a clerk, he enjoyed all the immunities of the dignified clergy.

THE laſt diſtinct particularity belonging to the knights, was, that they ſhould ſhave the crown of their heads; whether from

the fear of being ſeized by the hair, if they loſt their helmet in battle; or whether they found it inconvenient under the iron cap, and under the helmet, which they continually wore. Joinville ſays, in his manuſcript of Lucques, "When we were at Poitiers, I ſaw a knight named Meſſire Geoffroy de Rançon, who, for a great outrage done him by the count de la Marche, had ſworn by his ſaints, that he would never be clipped like a knight, but would bear about his wrong like a woman, till he ſhould behold himſelf revenged of the count de la Marche. And when Meſſire Geoffroy ſaw the count de la Marche, his wife and his children, kneel before the king, and cry out for mercy, he had a treſtle brought in, or a piece of wood on four feet, to hold a table, book, and chafing-pan; took off his vow; and cauſed himſelf to be ſhaved immediately, in the preſence of the king, the count de la Marche, and ſeveral others."

THESE cuſtoms were not however uniformly adhered to; and the rules of Chivalry have varied, with reſpect to arms and habits, at particular periods, and in particular circumſtances. The armorial enſigns on their ſhields, the ſtreamers of their lances, and the banner which they ſometimes wore on the top of the helmet, diſtinguiſhed them from each other.—As it was originally from ſovereign princes, or paramount lords, that they received their title and ſword, they had made it a duty, on their reception into Chivalry, to adopt the atchievements of thoſe from whom they received their title; or at leaſt to take ſome piece of their blazonry to add to that of their own family. But ſome knights, of an elevated ambition and refined turn of mind, would not take any devices till they had merited them by their own exploits: and if their ſhield had on it the blazon of their family, they put over it a houſing, till, by the houſing being torn away

away in the combat or tournament, the race from whence they ſprang might appear, to their praiſe and glory. The knights looked upon themſelves as the children of thoſe who had armed them; from whence the French word *adouber*, to dub, which was derived, ſays du Cange, from *adoptare*, to adopt.

ONE of the moſt ancient grants of coats of arms, was that of Richard, king of England, in favour of Geoffroi Troulart, lord of Joinville, who conferred on him this honour for his merit and ſervice, and gave him his own arms, which he joined with his family's. It was from a ſimilar motive of acknowledgment and reſpect, that the prince of Antioch, only ſixteen years old, quartered his arms with thoſe of St. Lewis, who made him a knight; and that ſeveral cities of France hold their arms from the king, as do the cardinals from the Pope. The deſire of concealing the privilege of blazonry, was

practiſed

practiſed by the knights-errant in particular, the firſt year of their promotion. As one of theſe adventurers, whoſe arms had been changed without his knowledge, made no anſwer to thoſe who nominated and urged him to the jouſt, by the atchievement or coat of arms they ſaw on his ſhield,—"I am of opinion (ſaid one) that you are of the knights of this year, who know not what arms you wear on your ſhield."—The houſing or caſe with which they covered their ſhield, was ſometimes made of a ſort of gimple or gauze, whiter than the lilly. Sometimes they painted it a ſingle colour: thus we find, in ancient romance, one of the heroes ſtaining his ſhield with the blood of a kid he had killed. But the firſt year of their reception, they were generally white, to imitate the example of the Knights of the Round Table. The ſhields painted of one ſingle colour, whether on cloth or metal, and known, in the authors on heraldry, by the name of

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ſtained cloths, ſeem to have preſerved the memory of thoſe white ſhields; of which an ancient chronicler has tranſmitted a teſtimonial.

IN a combat given near Liſle, in Flanders, a knight in white arms was ſlain, who would not make known, when he engaged, what was his name; nor, on refuſing to do this, ſurrender his arms to any intreaty. This obſtinate determination to die, rather than reveal himſelf, proves that the author of the romance of Perceforeſt gives a juſt idea of the manners of thoſe times in the diſcourſe of his Young Unknown, who preſents himſelf before Alexander. When this prince aſks him in what country he was born,—"I am not yet born," ſaid the young man. "What is that you ſay?" anſwered the king, "Sire (replied he) no man is born before he feels himſelf adorned with virtue."—"Truly, I agree to it (ſaid the king); but at leaſt tell me then your name."—"I have no more name

name than country (replied the young man); I have not yet merited any; but all my desire is to obtain one."—Laurent du Plessis seems to have taken up this romantic idea, in adopting for his country the place in which he was made a knight, the name of which he likewise took. Laurent being made a knight at Morf, beyond the sea, himself and children have taken the name of Morf. The romantic names of several personages, known in history, prove the design that some knights had to disguise themselves under borrowed names. In the list of knights in the courts of the kings of France, Charles the Fifth and Sixth, are a Lancelot, a Gadifer, a Carados; all heroes, described in the old romances. The allusion of the arms to the name of him who wore them, produced what was called Armes Parlantes; as that of Arpajon, whose name signified a player on the harp; and that was quite agreeable to the spirit of the ancient Armoriasts, though

suspected

ſuſpected by ſome for the inventions of ignorant and vulgar people.

THE croſs carried againſt the infidels; a lance, a ſword, or any other piece of arms, taken at a tournament, or in a combat; a tower, a caſtle, and even the battlements and palliſadoes of ramparts forced or defended; with an infinity of other exploits of this kind, were the origin of the different figures on the ſhields, repeatedly marked, when the ſame exploits were renewed by the ſame knight. From whence it ariſes, that ſome figures were marked without end on a ſhield; as the heads of lances, called Fleurs de Lys, were originally on every ſhield of the kings of France: and ſome have gone ſo far as to ſay, that the very wounds given and received were added to and deſcribed on the ſhields of the knights. But what they thus put round them, ſeems rather deſigned to expreſs the damage done to the ſhield in the different ways it was bruiſed

or

or ſlaſhed.—To the example of the royal ſhields, may be added thoſe of the Houſe of Montmorenci, ſo fruitful of great and noble characters. The ſixteen eaglets on the arms of that Houſe, are the glorious marks of two illuſtrious actions, done by two great men of that Houſe, repreſenting ſixteen colours taken from the Imperial troops, on two memorable days of action, related by Arnaud, the famous advocate of France, in his public eulogy on Henry de Montmorenci. Matthew the Second de Montmorenci, having taken ſixteen ſtandards in the battle of Bovines, Philip Auguſtus, as a monument of this glorious victory, willed that this Houſe ſhould bear, ever after, ſixteen eaglets inſtead of four, which belonged to their former atchievement. The impoſſibility of placing more than three on the little or private ſeal, occaſioned afterwards the reduction to that number, when they came to loſe ſight of the ancient principles of Chivalry. The arms were alſo changed

or

or diminiſhed, or even taken away at laſt, if the knight committed any great fault.

IN diſcourſing of Chivalry, we have already traced the idea of that judicious policy, of which a later age furniſhed a memorable example: A regiment of the French dragoons having carried off the kettle-drums from the enemy's cavalry, Lewis the Fourteenth granted them the privilege to bear kettle-drums at the head of their ſquadrons.—Puniſhments and privileges were thus ever proportioned to deſert. The knights had ſome diſtinguiſhing advantages: they were diſpenſed from being on guard or in waiting, to which the pages and ſquires were always ſubject; and thoſe men who belonged to a knight who came to reſide in a city, could not be obliged to pay the taillage or quit-rent which the burgeſs had a right to raiſe from all new inhabitants. In ancient times, the moſt illuſtrious birth gave to the nobles no perſonal rank, unleſs they had the honour of knighthood; nor could

they have the ſeal, or ſet up the coat of arms of their father; and if they were contracting parties to any deed, they borrowed the ſeal of their mother, their tutor, friend or relation, or that of the court of juſtice in which the deed was ratified.

THE French nobility learned from the Germans to conſider military ſervice as the right from which they held their rank and obtained their arms. They wore a ſmall ſeal on their finger in a ring, as the higher prelates have always done. Eccard count d'Autun, ſays Laboureur, bequeathed three rings with engraven ſtones. The Monk of Vigeois relates, that, in a war between the viſcount de Limoges and the count de Perigord, as the two armies went to battle, the count de Perigord was killed by the citizens of Pui; on which one of them, a rich man, took his horſe, mounted it, and putting on his finger the ring of this lord, inſulted the misfortune of his vaſſals, who remained without their head. And Chaſtie Muſart, in his eulogy

on a knight exclaims, "He is good!—he is noble!—he wears the armorial ſhield!—he is honoured with the ring!" Hiſtoric monuments furniſh us with many inſtances of this kind, among nobles of the higheſt rank. The regents of the kingdom of France anciently ſealed with their own ſeal, and not with that of the minor king. Charles the Sixth, by his edict of 1407, changed this cuſtom; commanding that all kings, his ſucceſſors, whatever was their age of minority, ſhould be intitled, after their fathers death, Kings of France, and be crowned and conſecrated. He, therefore, who had not received knighthood, could not be repreſented on a ſeal, in his armour, holding in one hand the ſhield, and in the other a ſword ſtretched out, as in the field, fighting on the day of battle; or hold lands, or do ſervice for them in perſon, as a free man. But, however young, the moment he was created a knight, he received the honour of the ſeal; was emancipated; took rank among thoſe to

whom the glory and adminiſtration of the ſtate were confided; and with them became the prop and defence of the throne. Several ſons of kings were anciently made knights from the cradle; and a great number, of inferior quality, at the age of fifteen or ſixteen years: for as the condition of a knight implied that he was to be a judge, governor, and defender of others, it was a natural preſumption that he ſhould be capable of maintaining his own rights, and of governing himſelf. It was therefore neceſſary he ſhould be free from ſervitude and conſtraint of every kind; and, conformably to the ancient privilege of the Roman ſoldiers, exempted from paying all taxes on proviſion or merchandize bought for his own uſe, or toll of any kind. His armour and equipage cauſed him to be diſtinguiſhed at a diſtance; and at his approach the barriers and gates opened inſtantly to admit or to give him a free paſſage. The knight, on his part, preſerved ſuch order and diſcipline among

thoſe who followed in his train, that the country through which he paſſed had no diſorder to complain of; or if any by accident was committed, he was reſponſible, and paid the full value for the damage: as has been related of the chevalier Bayard. If the fate of arms cauſed him to fall into the hands of his enemy, his dignity freed him from the chains that would have been the lot of any other priſoner. His word was the bond that retained him; and the faith of his oath procured him, though locked in his priſon, called the Place of Courteſy, every alleviation and help that could mitigate the rigour of his ſituation.

We have ſeen that the higher barons, to induce a greater number of warriors to enliſt under their banners, diſplayed a royal magnificence in the promotion of theſe knights. It is poſſible their treaſures were exhauſted by ſuch profuſions, or their ardour abated; and they judged it no longer neceſſary to gain, at ſo high a price, the numberleſs

recruits who preſſed to ſerve them. It appears, at leaſt, that thoſe who received knighthood in ſucceeding ages, ſhewed, in their turn, the magnificence which had formerly been confined to the nobles.

IT was, no doubt, on account of this expence, that the poſſeſſors of lands, called Lordſhips, when themſelves or their eldeſt ſons were to receive the honours of Chivalry, had a right to levy on their vaſſals and ſubjects, of the ſaid lands, for the charges of their reception, one-fourth of the taillage their lands paid, which were called Aids of Chivalry: the other three were due to them on the marriage of their daughter; on the payment of their own ranſom, when freed from priſon; and on the ultramarine voyages they undertook. Philip le Bel and Francis the Firſt iſſued out an ordinance for the levy of this aid; Philip, for the knighthood of his ſon; and Francis for the marriage of his daughter, and the knighthood of his ſon.—Bouteiller, the famous

famous civilian of the fourteenth century, terms the levy of aid from the nobles, a grant of courteſy; but adds, "It is the cuſtom ſo to do indeed, and cuſtom is inheritance, cuſtom is right with ſome, and muſt be followed; but I counſel that the difference between the right of kings and the courteſy to nobles, may be evidently ſeen, not to give the ſame thing for the levy, but to change, and ſometimes give it in a jewel, at others in a golden goblet." Madame de Sevigné, however, writing of the grand reception of M. de la Trimouille, in 1689, adds, "This was one of the occaſions wherein they redoubled honours and rents, according to the right, from certain lands." And this was agreeable to the ſenſe of La Roque and Du Cange, who conſider theſe rights as legitimate, and according to the eſtabliſhment of St. Louis, when they ſay, "If a gentleman marries his ſon, he ought to give him the third of his lands; and alſo when he is made a knight."

As in all orders of the ſtate, ſo in the tribunals of juſtice, the title of Knight was particularly reſpected; it being preſumed that thoſe who bore it were always diſpoſed to defend the cauſe of right. Moreover, knights could not be called to juſtice, but with all the caution and reſpect due to their dignity. If they obtained coſts againſt their adverſary, they were adjudged a larger recompence than was given to ſquires: but if they merited condemnation (ſo much the more culpable, as they owed to others the example of every virtue) they paid a double fine; and their families, who ought, it was ſuppoſed, to have reſtrained them, whether parents, brothers, or near relations, were included both in the penalty and the ſhame.—Agreeable to the proportion we have mentioned, it was ordered that the knights, at the ſiege of Dun-le-Roi, in 1411, ſhould bear eight faſcines, while four were only allotted to the ſquires.

As

As knights were, from the moment of their creation, chiefs and counſellors in all affairs of juſtice, ſo they preſerved a long time the excluſive privilege of poſſeſſing certain offices of the magiſtracy. That of Seneſchal of Beaucaire being brought into parliament as a matter of conteſt, one of the competitors alledged that his adverſary was not a knight. The emperor Sigiſmond, in whoſe preſence this cauſe was pleaded, conferred knighthood on the diſputed challenger, and by this means obtained him the office he demanded. They poſſeſſed alſo, on account of the ancient council of the kings having been formed of knights, the right of being employed in all public negociations. If it was neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors to treat of the moſt important affairs, either of peace or war, they choſe always for each embaſſy, and in equal number, eccleſiaſtics and knights; and in after-times they added the ſame number of magiſtrates: — the third order was formed

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when the office of judge was taken away from knighthood, which had originally exercised it. The Leaguers having sent a deputation to the Pope, in 1589, it was composed (says M. de Thou) of a knight, a counsellor of the parliament, and an abbé; this party affecting to follow the ancient forms of administration of the state so much the more zealously, as they departed from the primitive and fundamental laws of government.

BUT of all the rights belonging to a knight, the most noble, without doubt, was the privilege of creating other knights, even on the instant of his own promotion. This was in some sort participating the power and authority of sovereigns. Also, in the solemn festivals and assemblies, the knights had their tables particularly served by the squires; from which even the sons of kings were excluded, if they had not received knighthood. The most

powerful monarchs thought they could not inſpire their children with too much reſpect, or mark too high an eſteem themſelves, for an order, to which the throne owed its chief luſtre; nor would they ever be crowned without having received knighthood themſelves. — A queen (ſays Perceforeſt) though very weak after ſickneſs, would go out, even with great riſk of her health, to meet a brave but poor knight, who was come to pay her a viſit. The poor knight expreſſed to her the confuſion into which he was thrown by this exceſs of courteſy from ſo great a princeſs: to which ſhe replied, "To receive a poor knight with the ſame frankneſs and love as a rich one, is honour and delight."—Robert, the ſecond duke of Burgundy, prince of the blood, and firſt peer of France, qualified himſelf with the auguſt title of knight, in his letters, 1272: and in the letters of M. Racine, it appears that, in the laſt century, the lords of the court teſtified their

veneration

veneration for even the image and ſhadow of ancient Chivalry, in the perſons of the officers of juſtice, who had only the name.—Lewis the Eleventh, being attired, and on the point of receiving coronation, ſays Monſtrelet, drew his ſword, and gave it to duke Philip of Burgundy, praying him to make him a knight; which was a new thing; for it was commonly ſaid, that all the ſons of the kings of France were knights at the fonts of baptiſm: nevertheleſs the duke, in obedience to the orders of Lewis, gave him the dubbing and embrace, and made him a knight with his own hands. Charles the Seventh was alſo thus dubbed by the hands of the duke of Alençon; and Charles the Sixth, by the regent, duke of Anjou. The laſt monarch had early ſhewn his affection for Chivalry; when the king his father, who wiſhed to prove his diſpoſition, cauſed a crown of gold enriched with diamonds, and a helmet, to be ſet before him for his choice: "Sire (ſaid the young prince, briſkly)

briſkly) give me the helmet, and keep you your crown." — To compleat the glory of this order, when they related the death of any ſingle knight, they made uſe of the ſame terms of honour in ſpeaking of him, and the number of his years, as it was the cuſtom to do in reſpect of crowned heads.

If a knight was rich and powerful enough to furniſh the ſtate with a certain number of armed men, and to entertain them at his own expence, they granted him the permiſſion of adding to the ſimple title of Knight, or Knight Batchelor, the more noble and exalted title of Knight Banneret. This gave them the diſtinction of carrying a ſquare banner at the top of their lance; whereas that of a ſimple knight was extended in two cornets or points, as the flags ſet up in France, on the feſtivals of the church: and beſides his own ſhield, the banneret had the uſe of many ſhields of other knights for his defence. The ſame cere-

monies were uſed at his being made a banneret, as at the inſtitution of barons, viſcounts, counts, marquiſſes, and dukes; and they claimed of right the ſame rank that was expreſſed on their coats of arms, helmets, creſts, caps, tonſes, labels, ſupporters, girdles, coronets, and ſhields. Moſt of theſe pieces, originally worn, in the public ceremonies, by thoſe to whom they belonged, made a part of their head armour and habiliments. Even their dwellings, agreeable to the ſpirit of the age, had battlements and towers, ſerving both for the defence of their caſtles, and to mark the nobility of their owners. But a Gentleman, the title given to one who was nobly deſcended, had alone the privilege of expreſſing on his flag, or of blazoning the atchievements of his houſe.

THE banners of the knights in the battles, and the ſtreamers they held in their hands when they entered the liſts, and with which they made the ſign of the croſs before they begun the jouſts (and which

which they ſometimes fixed afterwards at the top of their caſques) probably gave riſe to the vanes placed at the tops of houſes. In the enterprize of Saintré, himſelf and his companions wore on their helmets two banners, between which was a diamond, deſtined to be the reward of thoſe who might prove their victors. Saintré having alſo propoſed a Pas d'Armes to the Engliſh, between Gravelines and Calais, which was accepted by the count of Bouquincan and his companions,—on the Sunday, the firſt day of the month, and entrance on this exploit, arrived the ſaid lord and count of Bouquincan, in the morning, after ſaying of maſs, and a brave company with him, who had placed on the higheſt wing of the houſe his banner, which he brought from England, bordered with ſilver; and commanded that they ſhould cry aloud, "England! Saint George!"—The inſides of their houſes were ſtill more diſtinguiſhed by the variety of ornaments which adorned their furniture, and

and which denoted their rank; as the form of the noble ſignals on the top, whether in the ſhape of pennons or banners, indicated that it was a knight, or knight banneret, to whom they belonged. The rendering due honours to all, according to their ranks, was obſerved with the moſt exact regularity in every aſſembly of the nobles; and the impoſſibility (but from command of royalty on any ſingular occaſion) to hold any other place, extinguiſhed all that diſorderly ambition, which, confounding theſe juſt rules, introduces thoſe into honour, who have only riches, and neither merit nor ſervices to ſupport their exaltation. — On the wedding of Charles the Seventh, Madame de Namur was ſeated at dinner below all the counteſſes except one: in the midſt of the dinner the king came where ſhe ſat, and ſaid to her, "Madam, you have been ſeated as wife of the count of Namur; but the remainder of this dinner you muſt ſit as my couſin-german." She was then

brought

brought up to the table of the queen, and after grace was ſaid, ſhe returned into her own place. The ſaid Madame de Namur (adds the counteſs of Poitiers) related to me, that never before, at any king's marriage, were ſo many princes or noble dames as on that day; and all the ladies dined in the hall where the king dined, but no man was allowed to ſit down there. Madame my mother alſo told me (adds the counteſs) ſhe had heard Madame de Namur ſay, that when Monſieur the duke Philip married Madame Michell, his firſt wife, who was daughter of the king of France, Monſieur duke John, the father of duke Philip, would always ſerve the ſweetmeats and ſpiced wines to her, but ſhe would not ſuffer it; nevertheleſs he always knelt before her, called her Madame, and ſhe called him Father.—When the ducheſs Iſabella of Portugal came to the king and queen of France, to ſpend ſeven weeks, ſhe never dined with either of them; but Madame

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the dauphineſs came often to the apartments of Madame the ducheſs, and ſtayed with her two or three days. My mother, who was preſent, obſerved, they ſerved Madame the dauphineſs under cover, as was the cuſtom to do to perſons of the higheſt rank; the diſhes, the ſalt, the pepper, the ſpices, and ſweetmeats, all were covered; and when the dauphineſs had waſhed with two baſons, they brought the ducheſs a ſingle baſon, and ewer, and a napkin, who having uſed it gave it to the ſquire who carved; and when ſhe roſe from table, ſhe knelt down at the feet of the dauphineſs, and in all things ſhewed as great honour to her as to the queen."

IN a manuſcript, intitled The Honours of the Court, theſe different degrees of honour, and the ſplendid ornaments which adorned the rooms and beds of ſtate, in the houſe of the duke of Burgundy,—ſideboards, tables, and cupboards,—are minutely

nutely given. They were charged with veſſels of cryſtal, ornamented with gold and precious ſtones; cups and pots, plates and diſhes, of pure gold; baſons and comfit-boxes, of gold and precious ſtones: a pair of the latter, belonging to duke Philip of Burgundy, were valued at ſeventy thouſand crowns, and were always on the ſide-board, covered with napkins, as were the reſt of the maſſy and valuable ornaments. The moſt magnificent ſideboards were in four diviſions or degrees, aſcending one above the other; each degree covered with fine napkins. At the top of this of the duke of Burgundy, was a cloth of gold and crimſon, bordered with black velvet; and on the black velvet was worked the device of my lord the duke of Burgundy; which device was a fuſil. This cloth was formed as a teſter of a bed; but the top part was only a quarter, or at the moſt half a yard wide, with cornices and fringe, as at the top of the beds of ſtate. And the cloth of gold, behind the ſideboard table,

hung down from the top to the bottom, at each ſide ornamented a quarter deep with a border, which was alſo on the top, and was of a different colour from the reſt. Two ſtate beds, in the houſes of princes and thoſe of royal blood, were placed under one teſter, with a paſſage five feet wide between each. At the end of the paſſage, next the bolſter of each bed, was a great chair with a high back: a couch was alſo before the fire, which ran on rollers, if need were, under the beds of ſtate. A curtain of demi-ſattin went round the two beds at top, but did not extend to the bottom or feet curtains; nor did theſe join each other by near the diſtance of the ſaid paſſage. The fringes and ſattin, in royal houſes, were green. The three curtains at top and bottom ran on rings, and could be drawn together and undrawn at will; ſo that the paſſage between the two beds was not diſcerned. In the middle of the two ſtate beds, was a curtain of the ſame kind, tied up to the top, and faſtened at

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the bottom above the chair; and this curtain was never drawn. There were the ſame curtains to the little bed, or couch, round a ſquare pavilion of the ſize of the bed. The chambers of princes were hung with green ſilk at top, and at bottom with tapeſtry to the door. The beds, great and ſmall, were covered with ſpotted ermine; and the inſide was of fine violet-coloured pluſh, which, when put on the bed, hung down on the ground a yard and a half deep. Above theſe coverings was a ſtarched crape, which trained longer ſtill; and the beds were all turned down; but the ermine covers went ſo high, that the ſheets were not to be ſeen, except at the bolſter, which was alſo covered with crape. Each bed had a pillow on the bolſter, three quarters long, and two quarters wide. The chair between the beds was covered from top to bottom with cloth of gold and crimſon, and had a cuſhion of the ſame. In this chamber of the duke of Burgundy, was alſo a ſideboard (as has been de-

ſcribed) and on it two great candleſticks of ſilver, with wax-lights always burning; and a table, near the ſideboard in a corner, to receive the pots and cups, in which drink was given to the royal gueſts, who came to ſee the daughter of duke Philip, in her lying-in, after they had been ſerved with the comfit-box, which was then replaced on the ſideboard.

THE room for the infant (afterwards ducheſs of Auſtria) had, in the ſame manner, two great beds; and the cradle in which ſhe lay was before the fire; but there was no couch. There was a pavilion round the cradle; the coverings of the cradle were as of the great beds, and trained on the floor. In the entrance, or ſtate-chamber, to theſe rooms, was only one bed, with crimſon ſattin; the covering the ſame; and at the top, on each cornice, was a great ſun, embroidered with fine gold in tapeſtry, given by the people of Utrecht to duke Philip. The hang-

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ing of the outward ſtate-room was red ſilk; the curtains crimſon, ſome tied up: the bed made, not as to ſleep in, with a crimſon pillow. At theend of the room, far away from the bed, was a ſide-board table, of three degrees, very high and wide, all covered with great flaggons and pots, and veſſels of ſilver gilt with gold, cups, and comfit-boxes; each degree and all round covered with fine napkins. At the head of the bed was a little chair, covered with velvet, and on it a cuſhion of gold cloth.

AGREEABLE to theſe particulars, given by the counteſs of Poitiers, was the etiquette obſerved in every thing among the nobles; and with reſpect to ſubordinate ſituations, there were the moſt exact regulations, ſuited to each. The frequent occaſions, in theſe ages, of aſſembling a vaſt number of perſons of all conditions, called for the moſt exact punctuality in the arrangement of them. At the tour-

naments and proofs of combat, or liſt fights, places were appointed for the lord of the feſtival, the marſhal, the nobles, and counſellors; for the ſtrangers of rank, according to their degree; for the citizens, merchants, and gentry.—When, in the fourteenth century, the prerogatives of the nobles began to be uſurped by the increaſe of riches to individuals, the juſt regulations, that before took place, became leſs attended to, and much inconvenience aroſe from it to ſociety. Euſtache Deſchamps cenſures this alienation of rank and honour from the juſt poſſeſſors, who, by education, or merit of ſervice, had alone obtained it. "In my time (ſays he) when they went into the church to make offering and to kiſs the Pax, dame went firſt, then demoiſelle, burgeſſes and wives came after. But now, alack, is grief and woe! riches ſwelled with pride; pitiful trickſter, caitif vile, thruſts into place with open ſhame, before a man of high deſcent."

IN Chivalry, where the form of government was military, individuals often acquired great riches by booty, and ranſoms in war, which were diſtributed uſually after the engagements. Gold, ſilver, horſes, palfreys, and mules, were divided among the knights; other prizes were given to the ſquires, and inferior attendants: which cauſed the romancers, who gave the picture of theſe times, to obſerve often, that knights took neither cows nor ſheep. A priſoner's ranſom was commonly a year's revenue, conformable to the right of redemption of noble lands. A knight, who by merit had gained himſelf a name, was paid court to by the greateſt lords and ladies; nay, even princes, princeſſes, kings, and queens, preſſed forward to ſerve and enroll him, as it were, in the rank of their hereditary deſcent, and to inſcribe him in the liſt of heroes, who had been the ornament and ſupport of their houſe, under the title of Knight of Honour. Montluc,

in the year 1555, mentions the dependance he had on taking a young Roman nobleman, ſo rich, that he poſſeſſed fourſcore thouſand crowns of annual rent. "A year's revenue (adds he) is my juſt claim." Officers, made priſoners, paid the half of their ſalary.—The magnificence of princes and nobles conſiſted, in great part, in the multitude of knights continually ſurrounding their perſons. "Handſome, wiſe, and well prepared (ſays Euſtache Deſchamps) lived the lord, from morn to night, in a caſtle large and fine, with wholeſome air, and choice delights; valiant knights attended him, when he went and when he came, obeyed his will, and ſerved his gueſts." Poſſibly he meant the knights of honour, or body knights, who always attended the perſon of their lord. We read, in Perceforeſt, that a great number of lords and gentlemen had cauſed helmets to be placed over the doors of their caſtles, to ſerve as a ſignal to the knights

knights who ſhould paſs by, and announce to them that they ſhould always find a welcome reception in a houſe, whoſe maſter would conſider himſelf as honoured in receiving ſuch gueſts. Some of theſe helmets are yet to be ſeen on the ancient edifices in France, particularly in the country; and knights were not only moſt courteouſly received, and treated with every mark of conſideration by theſe generous nobles, but they and their train had every expence defrayed, and, when they went away, were loaded with preſents.

PERCEFOREST ſpeaks of this cuſtom being uſed in England. "Then it was, that in Great Britain charity of manners reigned in all; noble dames and gentle knights placed on the top of their caſtles an helmet, as a ſign that all good knights and worthy ladies, travelling that way, ſhould enter as freely into their caſtle, as if it were their own. The preſents made were arms, coſtly robes, horſes, and even money;

money; to knights double the ſum given to the ſquires; as alſo to bannerets as much again as to knights batchelors: and this proportion was obſerved in the ſame caſes among the heralds, minſtrels, &c. The greateſt lords accepted, without any ſcruple, this ſort of liberality; not conſidering it ſo much a perſonal gift, as the aſſociating them in the enterprizes and glory of knighthood. But the courteſy they learned in theſe caſtles was above all riches; no ſpirit of diſcord or peeviſhneſs was ever allowed in theſe knights to one another; their manners diſplayed every kind of friendſhip and good-will." Joinville ſays, that he diſmiſſed one of his knights, who had ſtruck his comrade; which ſhews what was the authority of the lord over his knights, and their dependence on him who commanded them. Sometimes a knight was in the ſervice of ſeveral courts, as was ſeen in the palace of prince Edward of England.—Biſhops alſo, as perſons of rank, had knights attached to them.—Peter

ter de Blois, writing to two of his friends who were attached to the biſhop of Chartres, exhorts them to repreſent often to that prelate, how far he had wandered from his duty; above all, in the abuſe he made of his riches, in ſquandering them on buffoons; and recommends earneſtly to them, to inſpire him with a love of merit.—The preſent given by the duke of Anjou to the duke of Bourbon, Lewis, the third of that name, who had aſſiſted him in the war of Guienne, conſiſted of thirty thouſand gold franks, and was looked upon as the ſubſidy of a prince to his ally. The duke of Anjou paid the attendants of the duke of Bourbon for a month, and made rich preſents to the knights who accompanied him, of veſſels of ſilver and ſilk ſtuffs; and one of them received a ſteed, valued at two thouſand crowns. The count De Foix gave to the brother of Boucicaut, who came to ſee him, after much good cheer and entertainment, two hundred florins, and a fine

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red palfrey. The liberalities of the count de Foix were ſo great, that a deſcription of them, as given by Froiſſart, would almoſt be endleſs. His reception of the duke of Bourbon was magnificent; feaſts the moſt ſuberb; mules, palfreys, courſers, and money, were preſented to him; the latter was refuſed by the duke, the other preſents retained: the ſquires alone received preſents in florins. A ſpirit of natural ardour and equity reigned in the diſtinctions of all theſe things.—Perhaps theſe principles of diſtributive juſtice were derived from the Romans, or from the proportion obſerved in the Salique Law, with reſpect to the amercements and gifts of perſons, according to their different claſſes.

In the hiſtory of Lewis the Third, duke of Bourbon, we read, "The day of kings came, in which the duke made great feaſts and entertainments; and ſearched out for the pooreſt child in all the city, of whom

whom to make a king. He then cauſed the child elected to be dreſſed in a royal robe, gave him officers as governors, and the next day invited him to dine at his own table of honour. After dinner came his maitre d'hotel, who gathered for the poor king; to whom Lewis gave forty livres to put him to ſchool, the knights of his court a frank, and the ſquires half a frank; ſo that the ſum often mounted up to a hundred franks; which they gave to the father or mother of thoſe poor children, who were thus made kings in turn, and plentifully fed, that they might be taught at ſchool, and become worthy of honour. Thus did the valiant Lewis of Bourbon, for the love and reverence of God; and kept up this noble cuſtom to the laſt year of his life."

THE magnificent rewards beſtowed in Chivalry on the knights, were the origin of ſeveral lordſhips and fiefs; and not only enriched, but raiſed theſe warriors from

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an obſcure eſtate to the higheſt honours. "Clignet of Brabant (ſays the Monk of St. Denys) was made admiral, though he poſſeſſed no right to it from his rank, nor from the valour of his anceſtors; and he married the counteſs of Blois, which raiſed him from a ſtate of miſerable indigence to eaſe and ſplendour."

ALL the writings of the romancers were filled with precepts to the great, in favour of indigent knights; beſeeching the former to conſider their virtues, to ſupply their wants, and raiſe them to the rank they merited. A caſtle, or a yearly ſum, was frequently conferred on a new-made knight; who became the vaſſal of his patron, and often ſerved him and his knights at table.

"WHEN the king of England (ſays Froiſſart) had paſſed the river of Eſcaut, and ſet foot on the kingdom of France, he called Henry of Flanders to him, his

young page, made him a knight, and gave him two hundred livres ſterling of revenue each year: he alſo aſſigned him a ſufficiency and wealth in England."

THE tournaments, which often ruined the great lords by the exceſſive expence attending them, became a ſource of riches for poor knights. In the diſtreſſes of an urgent war, there were no bounds to the liberality of the prince, in his rewards to the knights who had ſhewn valour in his ſervice; and if brave, a knight who was diſengaged from any immediate ſervice, might be ſaid to put ſovereigns to contribution: alſo, in duels that were fought in the cauſe of a powerful lord or lady, no favour was deemed ſufficient, ſometimes not even the participation of their whole fortune, to reward the champion who had ſuſtained their honours, recovered their lands, or obtained revenge of their adverſary.

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IN the aſſault made on Pontoiſe, by Charles the Sixth, in 1441, beſides conferring the honour of knighthood, he ennobled the firſt knight who mounted the tower of Friſe, and for his valour extended the honour to his poſterity; and gave him rich gifts to maintain the rank to which he had raiſed him. Edward, prince of Wales, after the victory he gained at Poitiers, gave five hundred marks of yearly revenue to James Endelée, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this action, and retained him as his own knight. As the latter immediately divided this gift among four of his body ſquires, who had never quitted his ſide during the battle,—the prince of Wales, being informed of it, gave him ſix hundred marks more. Theſe generous actions are to be noted in many other princes.

A KNIGHT alſo, who rendered himſelf the ſuperior of a rich lord by ſkill in combat, ſet what price he pleaſed on the

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liberty of the vanquiſhed. "A ſquire of Picardy (ſays Froiſſart) purſued by an Engliſh knight banneret at the defeat of Poitiers, having forced him to ſurrender, made him, in the end, pay ſix thouſand nobles; and thus, from a poor ſquire, he became a great and wealthy knight." And many, after they killed their adverſaries, obliged their parents and friends to purchaſe, at a high price, the mangled and bloody bodies, and the ſpoils left in poſſeſſion of the victor. At a ſally made at the ſiege of Rouen, in 1418, the bodies of the killed were redeemed at four hundred nobles. Some knights, however, uſed their victories with more moderation, agreeable to the original precepts of Chivalry; or, if they did not, their chiefs made memorable examples of them for their inhumanity.

HISTORY has preſerved the noble ſpeech of the duke of Lancaſter, when he baniſhed for ever from his court a

diſloyal knight, whoſe arms and horſe he abandoned to Du Gueſclin, and whom he mulcted at a thouſand livres: "I have no pleaſure (ſaid the duke) in people who are guilty of treaſon, nor are we accuſtomed to ſuch in our country;—the garden of war is fruitful of game, but not open to beaſts of prey."

IT was from theſe heroic principles, that a young lady, left a rich heireſs without protectors,—or a widow, with extenſive lands fallen to her poſſeſſion,—would call to her ſuccour ſome knight of known valour and worth; and confide to him, with the title of Viſcount or Caſtellan, the guardianſhip of her caſtle and her fiefs, and the command of her ſoldiers maintained for their defence; of which obligations ſhe would ſometimes acquit herſelf, by rewarding with her hand the knight who had faithfully ſerved her.

FROISSART

FROISSART ſays, in relating the amours of Euſtache d'Auberticourt with Madame Iſabella de Juliers, "She often ſent him horſes, for a reward of his valour, and at laſt crowned the faithful exploits of this her ſervant by giving him her hand in marriage." Such marriages were generally contracted from the advice, and under the favour of ſovereigns, born the protectors of the noble orphans and widows of their ſtates: in conciliating the intereſts of both, they fulfilled at the ſame time the office of royal guardians, and generous rewarders of the brave knights in their court: and from this noble attention the moſt powerful houſes in France date their origin, and acquired the immenſe revenues they poſſeſs. Beſides the brilliant fortune of Clignet de Brabant, which he owed in part to the favour of the duke of Orleans, hiſtory furniſhes ſeveral examples of warriors, who, even in the flower of youth, commanded the greateſt armies, and performed the higheſt enterprizes, of

thoſe times. Boucicaut, at the age of twenty-five, was marechal of France; and Louis de la Trémouille, the knight without reproach, was only twenty-eight when he was inveſted with the dignity of lieutenant-general to the king of France; a rank ſuperior to that of the marechals of France. He gained the battle of St. Aubin de Cormier, and made the duke of Orleans priſoner.—To employ thus early young men, born with the genius and talents for war, was, as it were, to multiply valiant officers; for one ſuch able general, by purſuing his full career, did more than many officers in ſucceſſion could poſſibly have performed. From having remained at the head of his armies, for a length of time, he had acquired the confidence of his ſoldiers; and by his firſt atchievements had inſpired them with high reſpect for his valour and ſkill. He had likewiſe learnt to profit from experience in the conduct of the plan of war he had conceived; and the

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ſyſtem of military diſcipline he had formed, becoming leſs expoſed to alterations, could be more ſurely executed and brought to entire perfection.

FROM the view of Chivalry, in the life of the knight, and the honours it conferred on worth, we muſt depart for a moment, and, before we proceed to the cloſing ſcene of his death, ſubmit to the painful view of that degradation, which thoſe who ſullied the eclat of knighthood were doomed to undergo; and in which may be remarked many features ſimilar to the puniſhments inflicted by the prelates of the church. The knight, who was juridically condemned for his crimes, was inſtantly led to a ſcaffold, where they daſhed in pieces before him all his different pieces of armour, and his arms; his ſhield, from which they had razed his coat of arms, was ſuſpended at the tail of a mare; it was turned upſide down, and dragged ignominiouſly through the dirt:

its being inverted, was a mark that the perſon to whom it belonged was dead; for every knight diſhonoured by treachery, by indolence, or any ignoble conduct, was conſidered as a dead body, ſtripped of all feeling and ſentiment. Kings, heralds, and purſuivants at arms were employed in pronouncing againſt the culprit the atrocious injuries he had been guilty of; and the prieſts were alſo ſummoned, who, after having recited the prayers for the dead, pronounced over his head the hundred and ninth Pſalm; in which are ſeveral maledictions againſt traitors. Three times the king or the herald at arms demanded the name of the criminal; and each time the purſuivants at arms reſounded his name. The herald replied, *that* was not the name of him who ſtood before them, ſince he was diſloyal and a traitor. Then taking from the hands of the ſame purſuivants a baſon filled with hot water, he poured it with indignation on the head of the unworthy

worthy knight, to efface for ever the ſacred character that had been conferred on him. The wretched knight was then dragged to the bottom of the ſcaffold by a cord paſſed under his arms, and put on a hurdle or hand-barrow, covered with a pall; after which he was carried to the church, where the ſame prayers and ceremonies were ſaid over him as over the dead. Nothing certainly could be more horrible—not even the aſpect of the moſt dreadful death—to a knight in whom the ſmalleſt ſpark of ſentiment remained; and the idea of ſuch an ignominy was ſufficient to retain the weakeſt-minded ſoul in the diſcharge of his duty, if higher views could not inſpire him with a more perfect virtue.—Tacitus gives a ſimilar account of the Germans. They hung up traitors and deſerters on trees; cowards, and others guilty of notorious crimes, were thrown into ditches and marſhes, and covered with mud; to denote that common crimes

ſhould be expoſed for example, infamous ones buried in oblivion.

AT the ſiege of Monteontour, Du Gueſclin having engaged to pay an Engliſhman a certain ſum of money for the ranſom of one of his ſoldiers, by an obligation ſealed with his own ſeal, to be diſcharged from the revenue of his lands; this Engliſhman, not receiving the money, through the neglect of Du Gueſclin, who in the hurry of his affairs had forgotten his engagement, cauſed the arms of Du Gueſclin to be painted, dragged through the mud, and hung up bottom upwards, to denote that Du Gueſclin was perjured. The city was taken, and the Engliſhman was dragged, in his turn, and hung up in the ſame place in which he had hung up the ſhield of Du Gueſclin. The latter agreed that his creditor had a juſt right to ſeize his lands, and diſtrain his goods, after the expiration of the term fixed for payment; but not to inſult him as he had done.

done. This was however a penalty to which the knights obliged themſelves to ſubmit in the contracting ſuch engagements.

IN ſome particular caſes, where promiſes, held ever inviolable, were not broken,—or where cowardice was not concerned, which by the French, as well as the Germans, was conſidered as the moſt ignoble of all vices,—the culprit was allowed to expiate his crime by actions that might be capable of healing his wounded honour: and this was a policy full of humanity, and moſt ſkilfully and wiſely employed by the marechal de Turenne, who by this means drew ſingular advantages to himſelf, and to the ſtate he ſerved, even from the errors committed. For crimes that were leſs atrocious, but ſtill diſhonourable, the knight offending was excluded from the table of the other knights; and if he dared to place himſelf there, each of them had a

right

right to come and cut off the table-cloth from before him.

THERE is ſome alluſion to this in an anecdote given by Joinville. The knights had been ill treated by the hoſpitalers: Joinville demanded juſtice of the maſter, who conſented to give him ſatisfaction: it conſiſted in finding the authors of the outrage when they ſhould be ſat down on their cloaks to eat, that the offended knights might come and take their cloaks away. When Joinville and his men preſented themſelves, to execute the conditions agreed on, and make the brother hoſpitalers riſe from off their cloaks,—on their refuſing to do ſo, the knights did themſelves juſtice by taking their places to eat with them; which obliged the hoſpitalers to retire to another table, and leave them in poſſeſſion of their cloaks. It is well known that no juſtice is more ſeverely executed than that which people of the ſame condition exerciſe on one another;

another; for then the common intereſt becomes the intereſt of each individual.

IT is to be obſerved, likewiſe, that if a knight, baniſhed from the table of the other knights, had recourſe to that of the ſquires, he would have expoſed himſelf to the ſame affront from this inferior order. "A knight," ſays Lancelot de Lac, "who was conſidered as a criminal, becauſe he had been ſeen in a cart, arrived at the court of king Artus, and went to the table of the knights; but not one would permit him to take place with them. Refuſed through every row, he repaired to that of the ſquires; but was drove out of doors with ignominy, and obliged to ſpread his table-cloth on the bare earth." Bertrand du Gueſclin was the reſtorer of this ancient regulation, to preſerve in his command, as conſtable, the true diſcipline of ancient Chivalry, too much relaxed in his time.

HAVING

HAVING thus conducted the knight from his childhood through the courſe of his life, declared his proweſs, recorded his fame,—there remains only to ſpeak of his laſt hours, and the honours ſhewn him at the obſequies of his funeral. When nature, vigorouſly exerted for many years, became exhauſted, and the knight was no longer capable of the toils he had undergone, he firſt retired from the tournaments, as the leaſt neceſſary of his arduous undertakings.——" At the jouſts," ſays the hiſtorian of Lewis the Twelfth, " given in the preſence of all the court at Paris, in the ſtreet of St. Anthony, there were many great feats performed; and among others the noble actions of my lord Clerieux, the more ſignalized for his valour on this day, as he was in the decline of life. In the courſe of lances, he brought to the earth a gentleman of Picardy; himſelf and horſe came rolling together on the ground. This victory gained, he cauſed himſelf

to

to be disarmed; reposed between two fine sheets; and sent his helmet to a lady at Paris, praying her to keep it for his sake; adding, that for his part, he had finished the career of valour her beauty had inspired; and that he would be found in joust and tournament no more." If living to the full age of man, it was with more difficulty the knight entirely forsook the profession of war; and it was with grief he availed himself of the melancholy provision for age the law had accorded him.

WHEN the final stroke of death had sealed his eyes in darkness, and for ever extinguished that ardour and prowess for which the knight had rendered himself so redoubted, the attendants put on his body his whole armour: and at the funerals of barons, and knights of peculiar dignity, they put on the bed of state, which was borne in the pomp of the funeral, a living man, armed from head

to

to foot, to repreſent the perſon of the deceaſed.

In the charges of the houſe for the counts of Polignac, it is recorded, that in 1375, five ſols were given for having perſonated the dead knight, at the funeral of John, ſon of the Viſcount of Polignac.—The Engliſh, in 1591, at the ſiege of Rouen, with Henry the Fourth, reſerved for the colonel of their infantry a funeral pomp, well worthy of ancient Chivalry; the ſpirit of which was long preſerved in that nation. As this brave colonel, nephew of the earl of Eſſex, was killed in an attack at the head of his troops, the Engliſh put his body in a leaden coffin, and kept it till their departure. "We will make it enter the city through a breach, if an occaſion by aſſault preſents (ſay they), that we may tranſport our leader by the ſame way he would have conducted us, if death had not ſtopped his courſe." But obtaining not

not the means of conferring on their chief this honour, they carried back his corpſe to England.

THOSE who died after having undertaken a cruſade, though they had not accompliſhed it, were carried to the grave armed, their legs croſſed the one over the other: they were repreſented on their tombs in the ſame attitude, as is to be ſeen in the cloiſters of the ancient monaſteries of France and Flanders, and in many other places. "The body of my Lord Corneille, Baſtard of Burgundy (ſays Olivier de la Marche) who was killed in the purſuit of the Ghentois, was conveyed to Bruſſells, and the ducheſs of Burgundy had it honourably interred at St. Goule; for ſhe loved him right well for his good virtues; and ordered that on his bier ſhould be laid his banner, his ſtandard, and his flag. Toiſon D'Or, king at arms, ſaid afterwards, that it belonged not to any one, but him who died

in battle, to have theſe three enſigns of honour at his funeral; only one, or at moſt two of them.

THUS the glory of knights followed them to their tombs; and the ſignal marks which decorated their bier, and were placed on their mauſoleums, were teſtimonials of gratitude, on the part of the nation by whom they were decreed, towards the hero who had ſo ably defended them. For himſelf they remained an immortal recompence of his labours; for his family, an illuſtrious honour, the brightneſs of which they were never to ſully; and for Chivalry itſelf, an animating example, exciting a noble flame, to tread in the ſame glorious paths, and merit the ſame ſplendid diſtinctions. The amiable chevalier Bayard had in view theſe honours, when he thus addreſſed himſelf to his redoubted ſword, with which Francis the Firſt had juſt received the dubbing at his hands: "Thou art

art bleſſed, O my ſword! to have given ſo great, ſo excellent a king the order of Chivalry! In truth, my good ſword, thou ſhalt be guarded as a relic, and above all others famed and honoured." Having ſpoken thus, he leapt twice in token of joy; and then bowing low to and kiſſing his ſword, he replaced it in its ſcabbard.

As formerly the arms of Achilles excited the ambition of the Grecian chiefs, ſo did the knights deſire to poſſeſs the weapons, and above all the ſwords, of their illuſtrious predeceſſors, to uſe them in the day of battle, hang them up in their arſenals and tilting-rooms, as curious monuments of ancient valour; or dedicate them in the churches, from motives of religion. The duke of Savoy ſought, with the moſt unwearied diligence, for the ſword of the chevalier Bayard, to place it in his palace; but not being able to obtain it, he put in the place thereof all his other maſſy arms, which he gained

with infinite intreaty from Charles du Motet, lord of Chichiliane, a brave and wiſe gentleman of Dauphine, who had kept them in the higheſt preſervation. The duke wrote him a letter in very obliging terms, praying him to make him a preſent of theſe precious arms: "I will cheriſh them in honour of Chivalry (adds he) and place them in the choiceſt room of my palace; and when I gaze with tranſport at theſe noble enſigns of valour, my joy will receive but one alloy, the reflecting they are now in the poſſeſſion of one who is ſo much leſs worthy of this ineſtimable treaſure, than their firſt kind preſerver." In the time of Charles the Seventh, in the great adverſities of France, it was thought neceſſary, for its reſtoration, to chooſe one of theſe ancient ſwords, with which to arm the Maid of Orleans.

"IN the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois were found (ſays Savaron) ſeveral ancient ſwords;" among which was that

famous ſword, ſo fatal to the Engliſh, ſaid to have been that of Charlemagne, which drove them out of France, and which was afterwards placed among the relics of the church of St. Denys. It was agreeable to the piety with which the knights entered into this ſacred character, in their firſt dedication at the altar, to place theſe weapons of honour in the churches, at the cloſe of life. Thus devoting to God, the only Author of true courage, and every virtue, the ſword they had employed in the defence of Religion, and the good of the ſtate.

PART V.

HAVING gone through the deſcription of Chivalry, of which there ſubſiſts only the veſtiges in the preſent orders of regulars or monks, it only remains to relate the inconveniencies and the abuſes that aroſe in this once noble inſtitution, and which became a counterbalance to its advantages and honour.

THE ages in which Chivalry flouriſhed, it will be ſaid by ſome, were ages of barbarity and horror, of public robbery, and private licentiouſneſs; and that theſe vices were found in the knights, who at that time were ſet up as heroes. Peter de Blois, a ſatiriſt of the twelfth century, ſpeaks of their ſumptuary horſes bending

bending under the load of utenſils and ammunitions for voluptuouſneſs: inſtead of being charged with the arms and baggage neceſſary to war, they are, in truth, adds he, covered over with ſhields, where gold glitters on every ſide; and juſt as ſhining and as whole as they brought them are they carried back. Their ſaddles, however, and their helmets, are adorned with pictures, which repreſent the combats of Chivalry. Theſe fine images tranſport them with admiration; but it is in paintings only they dare to look on war.—The paintings here ſpoken of evidently indicate the origin of atchievements, or coats of arms.

IN contempt alſo of Chivalry, the count of Champagne, in 1231, declared, that he confided more in the loweſt of his citizens than in his knights. Nor did thoſe of this order, who were devoted to the exact performance of religious rites, eſcape the cenſure of the ſatiriſts; they

were taxed with ſimony. In the houſes of hoſpitalers, and others deſtined to humiliation, to poverty, and charity, they were accuſed of pride, opulence, and idleneſs; and that the faith they profeſſed was fraud and treachery. Nor are the recitals of hiſtorians wanting in ſumming up the unjuſt actions of many heroes; their employing in their train troops of robbers, as the miniſters of their ambition and vengeance: and they reproach them alſo with inteſtine broils and wars, occaſioned by their private animoſities. St. Lewis made the ſevereſt laws to extinguiſh theſe feuds; yet the civil wars, under the reigns of the princes of the Houſe of Valois, armed the moſt powerful lords, and the moſt valiant knights, againſt each other. Such were the allegations againſt this noble inſtitution.

But though from the boſom of friendſhip, and the union of brotherhood, there iſſued ſome monſters, who oppoſed the laws

laws by which they arrived at the dignity of knighthood; there were many who publiſhed its fame, and ſecured its glory. Vidal, in ſpeaking of the knights who ſucceeded thoſe employed by Henry king of England, and his three ſons, gives to ancient Chivalry the higheſt honour. And another ſatiriſt ſays, "This order anciently was ſo reſpectable, that to dare to cenſure it, would be a ſatire on myſelf; but the white wolf (adds he, alluding to a popular tradition in his age) has devoured all the loyal and brave knights; be not therefore ſupriſed the race of them is loſt."

EUSTACHE DESCHAMPS, who wrote in the reigns of king John, Charles the Fifth, and Charles the Sixth, complains bitterly againſt the Chivalry of his age, compared with that of the preceding, that it was declining, and would ſoon come to ruin. "Knights anciently (ſays he) were loyal, ſecret, fond, and brave!

Each one, with his dame and friend, lived in bond of harmony, free from cenſure, free from vice: but now they jangle, now they lye; nor live as thoſe in anceſtry."

IT is certain that Chivalry, in the firſt ages of it, tended to promote order and good morals; and though in ſome reſpects imperfect, yet produced the moſt accompliſhed models of public valour, and of thoſe pacific and gentle virtues, that are the ornament of domeſtic life: and it is worthy of conſideration, that in ages of darkneſs, moſt rude and unpoliſhed, ſuch examples were to be found, from adhering to the laws of an inſtitution founded ſolely for the public welfare, as in the moſt enlightened times have never been ſurpaſſed, and very rarely equalled.

MEN are weak; there is a wide road between ſpeculation and practice. In the

moſt regular ſtates, the numbers of thoſe who live conformable to its laws, are the few, not the many, except in the very firſt eſtabliſhment of theſe ſtates. Time introduces innovations and abuſes; but theſe ought to be imputed to individuals, not to the profeſſion they have embraced. Chivalry had, in this reſpect, the fate of all other inſtitutions; and, to diſguiſe no truth unfairly, it was liable to ſome inconveniencies in its own ſyſtem, which ſhall be mentioned. To conſider it then on the ſide of war: In what diſorder muſt an impetuous ſoldiery fight, whoſe courage was their law; and whoſe ambition was to multiply the dangers that ſurrounded them? From the time of their war with the Albigenſes, the French were reproached with the making a ſport of danger, and braving death. "They are contented (ſays an Albigenſe captain) with arming their bodies; they diſdain to defend their legs, and they wear only ſtockings when they go to battle. This was conſidered

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as extreme temerity in an age when armour was in uſe: and we know that among the Romans and Lacedæmonians, exceſs of courage was puniſhed as cowardice. The ſoldiery, who were thus raſh, muſt be often incapable of rallying, to repair the errors it might lead them to commit, or the loſſes it might cauſe them to ſuſtain. Alſo, the different intereſts of the lords paramount, and the different ranks of knights under them, were likely to cauſe much confuſion: the power of the former would often claſh with the officers belonging to the king; and from the combinations of theſe different powers, ſome nearly equal in rank, all rivals of each other in fame, authority might be weakened by participation, and obſervance of the laws eluded by different pretexts in the knights: or, by the covert of indulgence to their vaſſals, the latter might eſcape the puniſhment of diſobedience in their duty. Experience ſhews this in the wars of the Engliſh, whoſe bloody rival-

ſhips,

ſhips, and headſtrong ſoldiery, are ſtriking proofs of the inconveniencies of any ſyſtem that neglects letters, to attend ſolely to arms.

LET us now paſs to a view of the knights errant, and ſee of what uſe they appear to have been in theſe dark ages.—Among theſe were the Knights of the Round Table, ſo famous in the romances that depicture thoſe times. The martial Boucicaut went to the Holy Land as a knight errant, and combated the Saracens, ſays Godfrey his hiſtorian. Theſe heroes, in imitation of Hercules and Theſeus, viſited diſtant countries, to redreſs wrongs, revenge the oppreſſed, and exterminate robbers. "The barbarity of thoſe dark ages (ſays La Colombiere) required the ſuccours of ſuch redoubted champions; and they were even of uſe in ſucceeding times, not ſufficiently cleared from ferocity, to do without their aid."

BRAN-

BRANTOME confirms particularly the cuſtom of knight errantry, in the recital of the enterprize of the Lord Galeas, of Mantua. In acknowledgment of the honour done to him by queen Joan of Naples, who had taken him out to dance with her, he made a vow to run over the world, till he had conquered two knights, to preſent to her majeſty. At the end of a year, which he had employed in fighting in every country through which he paſſed, in England, Spain, Germany, Hungary, having overcome two knights, he brought them with him, and preſented them, kneeling at her feet, to the queen, as the accompliſhment of his vow. "The queen gave them their freedom, with a generoſity (ſays Brantome) far different from that ſhewn by the canons of St. Peter's at Rome. A knight, under the like vow, having ſent another knight he had taken, with his arms, horſe, and all his ſpoil, to the church, the prieſts liked them ſo well, that they would never part

with any one of them, but retained them all; and made the poor knight their captive for the remainder of his life."

IT appears from this anecdote, that Chivalry, in a ſimilar caſe, acted by more equitable and noble laws. Theſe wandering heroes, the knights errant, reſided principally in foreſts, without any other equipage than that which was neceſſary for the defence of their perſons. They lived wholly on veniſon; and on flat ſtones (placed expreſsly for the purpoſe of theſe knights errant in the foreſts) they roaſted and eat their meat: the bucks they killed were put on theſe ſtone tables, and covered over with other ſtones, which they preſſed down on them, to ſqueeze out the blood; from whence this meat was called Preſſed Kid, Food of Heroes! Salt and ſome ſpices, the only munition they charged themſelves with, were all the ſeaſoning they uſed.—The laws of theſe foreſters were, to march in ſmall companies,

panies, ſometimes only three or four together, that they might ſurpriſe the more readily the enemies they ſought; taking care, that they might not be known, to change or diſguiſe their atchievements by covering them. A year and a day was the ordinary term of their enterprize; on their return, they were upon oath to relate faithfully their adventures, and ingenuouſly confeſs their faults and misfortunes.

THE eagerneſs and joy of the ladies and young gentlewomen to receive them on their return, was inexpreſſible; and it is eaſy to believe, what the authors of theſe times aſſert, that kings have refuſed crowns, to apply themſelves more freely to theſe benevolent purſuits of knight-errantry. "Queen Elizabeth wiſhed (ſays M. de Thou) to receive a homage that ſhould, as in theſe ancient times, be addreſſed to her ſolely for her own ſake. She was pleaſed to exerciſe her imagination

tion with recalling the memory of theſe knights errant, who run over the world, animated ſolely with the deſire of pleaſing thoſe beauties, who inſpired them with ſuch noble ſentiments." To appreciate exactly the juſtice of theſe ancient traditions, there are many teſtimonies in later poets, and in hiſtorians. "The young knights (ſays the chevalier Bayard) flying the bonds of marriage, fearing leſt by them they ſhould be turned from the purſuit of their profeſſion, made it a part of their duty to conſecrate the firſt years of their inſtallation into the order of knighthood, to the viſiting diſtant countries and foreign courts, that they might render themſelves perfect knights."

THE averſion of knights to idleneſs, their love of war and tournaments, their ardour for ſome ſignal atchievement in the profeſſion of arms, are alſo juſtified, in Bayard's life, by the epitaph of John of Arces, ſon of the chevalier Blanc. The

on enterprizes

enterprizes of the chevalier are there mentioned; and the voyages he made to Spain, Portugal, England, and Scotland, to defy the moſt renowned combatants of ſword or lance. Tacitus paints the Germans in the ſame manner: "When a city languiſhes in the boſom of a long peace, almoſt all the young nobility go and ſerve elſewhere as volunteers: repoſe is a ſtate of force to the Germans; perilous hazards and eminent dangers are their delight." Green was the colour worn by the knights errant, which announced the verdure of youth, and the vigour of courage. The Monk of St. Denys relates, in his hiſtory, that in the tournament that Charles the Sixth gave in 1380, at St. Denys, for the knighthood of the king of Sicily, and his brother the count of Maine, twenty-two principal knights, who jouſted at this feaſt, had green ſhields, the device on each engraved in gold: each knight was followed by his ſquire, who wore their helmets and their lances; and, that

no

no magnificence might be wanting, theſe knights waited for the ladies, who were to conduct them, agreeable to the order of the king, to the liſts; and who repaired themſelves thither in dreſſes of the ſame livery, dark green embroidered with gold and pearls: they came on beautiful palfreys to join theſe knights; "and ſo marvellous was the array, and ſo rich beſeen (ſays this writer) that it ſeemed not only ſo many queens, but ſo many goddeſſes! for ſo much majeſty, beauty, and ſplendour, were united, that the fictions of poets came far behind what was now beheld." Thus teſtified the monk of St. Denys, in his Hiſtory of Charles the Sixth.

IN the voyages made by the knight errants, they ſtudied the art of fencing, and the manner of jouſting, in foreign nations: they wiſhed to meaſure ſwords with their ſuperiors in this art, to learn moſt ably the ſcience of war, in practice as well as

theory, by fighting on the ſide that appeared to them to be juſt and right: they alſo ſtudied the ceremonials, or honours, and the principles of courteſy, obſerved in each court. Their talents and their politeneſs formed acquaintance with the princes and princeſſes of the higheſt reputation; obſerved the moſt celebrated knights and dames; learned their hiſtory, and recorded the moſt worthy paſſages of their lives; that they might be enabled to give inſtructing relations, and agreeable and intereſting reports of them, when they ſhould return to their own country.

THE knight errants were particularly careful, in all the places thro' which they paſſed, at a diſtance from courts and cities, to engage in the cauſe of the oppreſſed: wherever there were violences to repreſs, or crimes to puniſh, there they were moſt aſſiduous. Women, the unfortunate of all ages and conditions, they flew to aſſiſt, that they might accompliſh

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the ſacred vow they had taken. Nor was the cauſe of religion leſs attended to by theſe knight errants; though it muſt be confeſſed, that the laws of this ſacred profeſſion were beſt obſerved in the early times of its inſtitution (as is uſually the caſe in temporal matters alſo); and that it ſhared the fate of all other ſyſtems in its decline. It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that the religion of theſe times was full of ſuperſtition; compoſed of ceremonies which, though ſacredly obſerved, and in ſome reſpects uſeful, yet were calculated to give more outward appearance of religion than inward rectitude of heart. The proclamations at the tournaments were generally in the name of God and the Virgin Mary: they confeſſed, and heard maſs, before battle; and, when they entered the liſts, they held a ſort of image, with which they made the ſign of the croſs. "The lord of Lalin, at the Pas d'Armes of 1449, had the flag in his hand painted with the figure of Chriſt on the croſs; and he ſigned himſelf with

it," ſays Olivier de la Marche. And as the feaſts of the tournaments were accompanied with theſe acts of devotion, ſo the feaſts of the church were ſometimes adorned with the images of the tournaments.

MATTHEW DE COUCI gives the recital of a pious feaſt, or proceſſion, that the ambaſſadors of Burgundy ſaw at Milan in 1459, and which terminated by repreſentations or ſpectacles of men and women; the former, armed as warriors, tilting for the love of their ladies. The proceſſion of the Fête Dieu, in the city of Aix in Provence, and the perſonage of the Prince of Love exhibited in it, renders this account of Matthew de Couci, relative to a more diſtant time, very credible. M. de Fleury, ſpeaking of the manners of the Chriſtians in the 10th century, ſays, "all the world were Chriſtians; ſo that it ſeemed a profeſſion born, and that man and Chriſtian was the ſame. Chriſtianity (adds he) was become a part of the manners,

ners, and conſiſted chiefly in exterior ceremonies. Chriſtians differed little from Jews and infidels, as to vices and virtues, but only as to ceremonies, which do not really make any one good at heart." The prieſts themſelves could not read, and inſtructed the people only by a homily, or a ſhort diſcourſe, written down in the ancient ceremonials. If it happened that any one gave himſelf to letters, or lifted up his mind to the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, he paſſed inſtantly for a magician or a heretic.

BY a ſcrupulous attention to all the public and private ceremonies of religion (for hearing maſs the moment they were up was according to their miſſion) by gifts to the church, and to the monks, &c. many, in theſe dark ages, thought they might violate the other laws of Chriſtianity: and, by a pilgrimage to ſome holy place, or an expedition againſt infidels or heretics, or taking up the monaſtic habit

at the end of life, or even ordering it to be put on them while they were dying—appeaſe the divine vengeance, and receive the remiſſion of their ſins.—William of Malmſbury, an Engliſh hiſtorian, has declared, that Philip the Firſt, who was interred in the abbey of le Fleur, had taken the religious habit in that monaſtery. Geoffery, count of Anjou, who maintained a bloody war againſt his father for many years, it is certain (in 1060) renounced, on the evening before his death, his arms and temporal affairs, and put on the pious habit of a monk, to depart, thus clad, the more ſafely out of this world into the other. And ſo frequent was the uſe of dreſſing in monaſtic habits to die, that women had recourſe to this method of ſanctifying the end of a bad life.

THE abbé of Caunes, in the dioceſe of Narbonne, and his monks, declared by an authentic act, in 1309, that all thoſe who,

who, by their laſt wills, gave orders to be buried in their abbey, with the monaſtic habit, ſhould not be obliged, on that account, to leave them any thing: and they generouſly appointed two monks of the houſe to put this habit, at the point of death, on thoſe who ſhould devoutly wiſh to be inveſted in it, and to be received as monks, and brothers of the monaſtery. This cuſtom continued long after the 14th century; till the wars of the religioniſts checked this ſort of devotion. Henry Eſtienne, a proteſtant author, in conformity to the opinions of his ſect, obſerves ſhrewdly; "the count of Carpi, being the laſt who played this *fine game*, alone *remains a proverb and a jeſt!*"

THE form in which religion might appear, in peculiar circumſtances of hurry and confuſion, may be judged of by the following ſingular anecdote: — Etienne Vignoles, called Lahire, went with the count of Dunois to raiſe the ſiege of

Montarges, in 1427. When Lahire approached the ſiege (that is to ſay, the camp of the Engliſh, who ſurrounded the city) he found a chaplain, to whom he ſaid, "that he muſt give him abſolution in all haſte:" the chaplain replied, "he muſt confeſs to him his ſins." Lahire anſwered, "that he had not leiſure, for he muſt immediately charge the enemy; and that he had done all that was the cuſtom for ſoldiers to do:" on which the chaplain gave him abſolution in his own way; and then Lahire made his prayer to God, ſaying, with his hands joined, "God, I pray thee that thou wilt do this day for Lahire, what thou would'ſt that Lahire did for thee, if he was God and thou waſt Lahire." Then he roſe up, well ſatisfied (for, undoubtedly, he did not mean to be profane, though he was ſo) with having well prayed, and piouſly ſpoken to God. A great ſtreſs on the mere ceremonial of religion did, in this inſtance,

inſtance, and is often ſeen to produce, though in a different mode, an unjuſtifiable familiarity with the Supreme Being.

WE have already ſhewn the great attention paid in theſe days to the ladies: they partook with the knights the diverſions of hunting and the chace; heard all their exploits in war and in the field; their deſcriptions of the nature of the animals they purſued; the manner of rearing their young, and treating their maladies. Gaiety, love, and bravery, were the great characteriſtics of an accompliſhed knight.

THE epithet of Joyous, applied from time immemorial to the ſword of Charlemagne, is one of the moſt ancient teſtimonies of the natural gaiety of the French. War had an air of pleaſantry peculiar to them; they never ſpoke of it but as a feaſt, a game, a paſtime: 'Let them play their game,' ſay they of the croſs-bow men, who were ſhowering down

down arrows on them; and 'to play a great game,' was their deſcription of a battle.

FROISSART, relating the death of duke Winceſlas, gives this picture of him: "At that ſame time (1383) departed this life the gentle and handſome duke Winceſlas of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and of Brabant, who had been, in his age, noble, amorous, joyous, wiſe, and brave." And in the eulogy of the brave Foulque, nephew of Gerard de Rouſillon, he completes his picture, by ſaying, "he was ſkilful in hunting in the foreſts, and fiſhing in the rivers; and no leſs ſkilful in the games of cheſs, tables, and dice." And the hiſtorian of Bayard, relating the dinner that king Charles the Eighth gave to the duke of Savoy at Lyons, ſays, "there were ſeveral diſcourſes held there concerning dogs, birds, arms, and love!"

AN

AN equal knowledge of theſe points formed the eulogy of a perfect knight. Many were the ſubtile deſcriptions of love—which involved ſituations the moſt deſperate or delicious, to a heart tender and ſincere; and qualities the moſt amiable, or diſguſting, in a miſtreſs. Sometimes theſe themes produced many pompous declamations to the honour of the ladies, a hundred times repeated; ſometimes indecent exclamations againſt their conduct. A judge of theſe diſputes was characteriſed by the title of the Prince of Love; his ſentences were often equivocal, obſcure, and enigmatical; and the parties, however abrupt in their private diſcourſes, ſubmitted with a reſpectful docility to his deciſions. Cardinal Richelieu, and many perſons of quality, retained this taſte, which their forefathers had taken from the ancient cuſtoms; and had ſuch themes renewed. The French academy, to pleaſe Cardinal Richelieu their founder, treated in their firſt meetings of

ſeveral

ſeveral ſubjects relative to love: and in the hotel of Longueville the wittieſt perſons, and thoſe of the higheſt rank, engaged in theſe diſputes. Theſe lovers of the golden age of gallantry, from their ſubtile definitions, appeared leſs read in Plato than in the ſchool of the Scotiſts, from whom they drew their refined diſtinctions. They boaſted of loving only the virtues, the talents, and the graces of their ladies; to find in them the only ſource of felicity; and to aſpire at nothing but maintaining, exalting, and ſpreading abroad in all places, the reputation and glory theſe virtues and graces had beſtowed on them: each, profuſe in the praiſe of his miſtreſs, would never allow any other lady to be more perfect than her he adored. Some held the moſt violent paſſion for thoſe they had never ſeen: a ſtriking inſtance of which is given in the life of Geoffron Rudel, in the Hiſtory of the Troubadours.

THIS love was metaphyſical, and moſt reſpectful; and did not, as is proved in the writings of the Troubadours (who have conveyed the pictures of theſe times, and are to be valued for giving the original view of ages ſo remote) always baniſh from their diſcourſes cold, trite, and familiar images, the natural productions of minds in a rude and unimproved ſtate.

THE Chevalier de la Tour ſpeaks of the fanaticiſm of the Lovers, who formed a kind of paſtoral life in Poitou, during the impriſonment of St. Lewis; and who, under pretext of delivering him, over-ran the confines of Flanders and Picardy, and were at laſt exterminated in the Orleanois: under the ſame pretext, Languedoc was deſolated in 1320. They called their ſociety the Fraternity of Penitents in Love; others called them Galois, and Galoiſes; for the women, as well as the men, diſputed who ſhould the moſt zealouſly maintain

tain the honour of this extravagant religion; the object of which was, to prove the exceſs of their love, by an invincible determination to brave the rigour of the ſeaſons, and the hardſhips of an itinerant life: and knights, ſquires, ladies, and demoiſelles, who embraced this reform, were, on the ſame principles, in the burning heats of ſummer, to wrap themſelves up in warm cloaks and double hoods, and to have great fires, at which they were obliged, by the laws of the order, to ſtand and roaſt themſelves, as if they were pinched with cold;—all this was probably done, in alluſion to the power love has to work the moſt ſtrange metamorphoſes. When winter ſpread its ice and its froſts, love then changed the order of the ſeaſons: the lover who ranged under his banner then burned with the moſt ardent fires; a ſmall ſingle petticoat, with a thin long cornet, compoſed the dreſs of the ladies; and to have worn fur cloaks, gloves, or muffs, or to have had

had a fire, would have been, with this ſect, a capital crime. The chimnies of their great halls were adorned with winter-greens, if greens were to be had; thoſe of their chambers were done up in the ſame manner; and a light ſerge, without pluſh, was all the covering they had to their beds. Gontier, an ancient poet, ſays, alluding probably to this—

"They fear no cold, whom ſtrong love hold."

The lovers aſked, from the beauty to whom they were ſlaves, only the privilege of touching their hands or lips; forms borrowed from the ceremony of homage; that is to ſay, the honour of holding from them their exiſtence, as a fief: but they were not always, any more others, faithful to the bonds they had taken.

As it was a time of ignorance, ſo there was much licentiouſneſs on many occaſions: and St. Lewis groaned, to find it eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed even near his tent, during the moſt holy of the cruſades (for though the ceremonials were by many punctiliouſly obſerved, yet little reſpect was paid to the moſt ſacred and honourable laws of ancient Chivalry): and Joinville, the confidant of St. Lewis, reports the ignominy this prince cauſed one of the knights to ſuffer, whom he ſurprized in the crime of adultery; which ſhews how neceſſary it was, to ſtop the effects of the general corruption.

THE monk of Vigeois, towards 1180, ſpeaking of the licence which reigned in the troops, counted, in one of the French armies, fifteen hundred concubines; whoſe dreſs and ornaments coſt immenſe ſums. And the ſame hiſtorian adds, "that reſpect for the public did not confine them to the claſs they belonged to; but, adorned as were the nobleſt dames, they were confounded, from their appearance, with them: and even the queen herſelf was deceived, on beholding

beholding a woman of this ſort at church. As ſhe was going to perform the ceremony of kiſſing the Pax, ſhe embraced her (which was the cuſtom) as ſhe did the other ladies; but, being better informed, ſhe made great complaints to the king her huſband; and that monarch forbade all ſuch women to wear the mantua, the garment by which married women were diſtinguiſhed.—— Preachers the moſt in credit launched their cenſures againſt this licentiouſneſs: and St. Denys deplores, in theſe terms, the miſeries of his monaſtery. After the recital of the tournaments made in 1389, at St. Denys, for the knighthood of the king of Sicily, and his brother:—" Till then (ſays he) all went well; but the laſt night ſpoiled all, by the dangerous licence of maſking, and permitting all ſorts of farcical poſture-dances to be continued through the night, ill ſuited to the dignity of ſuch conſiderable perſonages; and which I judge it fit to remark in this hiſtory, to ſerve as an example in future

 times,

times, from the diſorders it occaſioned: for this ill cuſtom of making night into day, joined with the liberty of eating and drinking to exceſs, cauſed many freedoms to be taken by many perſons, as unworthy the preſence of the king as the ſanctity of the place in which he kept his court. To ſum up all in a few words (adds he) huſbands ſuffered the diſhonour of their wives, and fathers of their daughters." Such were the evils practiſed in this feaſt; which the king concluded the ſolemnization of by a thouſand ſorts of preſents, given not only to the knights and ſquires who ſignalized themſelves therein, but to the ladies and demoiſelles, to whom he gave diamond ear-rings, jewels, and rich ſtuffs; and honoured the principal of them by a ſalutation, on the diſbanding of his court. In the great caſtles there were beheld, alſo, manners that proved no leſs the ignorance than the corruptneſs of theſe ages: ſo that a romancer ſays, ſatirically, "a lady in her caſtle, who had received a knight,

knight, could not ſleep till ſhe had preſented him with a fair companion of her houſhold."

As to the manners of the Chriſtians who went on the cruſades, Joinville ſays, they were worſe than thoſe of the other armies: all ſorts of vices reigned; thoſe that the pilgrims brought from their own countries, and thoſe of the countries they came to, which they caught, and added to their own.

BUT to paſs to the inconveniences that Military Chivalry occaſioned, with regard to the reſpect due to royal authority, and to the attachment of the ſubject to his country:—a multitude of lords and barons had vaſſals, knights, and ſquires, and perhaps even fraternities of arms, who were rendered almoſt independent, and often rebelled againſt the princes they ſerved; and, from caprice and paſſion, or ſordid intereſt, ſold their ſervices to the enemies of the ſtate.

KING Charles the Sixth, in 1370, teſtified his diſcontent at the conduct of the count d'Oſternant, his ally, who had accepted the order of the Garter: and the duke of Orleans was equally cenſured for binding himſelf, in 1399, by a fraternity of arms and alliance, to the duke of Lancaſter, who ſoon after dethroned Richard king of England, ſon-in-law of king Charles the Sixth. The credit and the authority gained by ſuch ſocieties were held of dangerous conſequence to the repoſe of the ſtate. It was alledged againſt the Eſſars, that, in 1413, under pretext of aſſiſting at a tournament, which was to be in the park of Vincennes, but in reality to take away the king and the duke de Guienne (having bribed a great number of their troops for this purpoſe) they held in Brie near five hundred armed men. Charles the Seventh was often agitated with jealouſy and ſuſpicions againſt the dukes of Orleans, Bretagne, and others, who ſeemed to hold intelligences

gences contrary to his authority; whether for having refuſed his orders, or for having accepted thoſe of the duke of Burgundy.——But we will proceed to the abuſes of Chivalry, in other parts of the political eſtate.

THE knights, who, in their fiefs, had been (ſo to ſpeak) the arbiters of juſtice and of war, abandoned, towards the time of Philip le Bel, Lewis le Hutin, and Philip le Long, the adminiſtration of juſtice; and, without ceaſing, were occupied in the continual quarrels of the kings of France and England; and gave themſelves wholly up to the exerciſe of arms in war and tournaments: whereas, in the firſt ages of the French monarchy, the great lords and courtiers were deſtined equally to the defence of private perſons, by their juſtice and eloquence, as to the public, by their arms; imitating hereby the example of the Romans: in reference to whom was this canon law:—'The ſervice in the palace,

and the power of pleading, are prohibited to criminals;' which proves the mutual exerciſe of both, long before and in the firſt ages of Chivalry: and that theſe double offices, of warrior and judge, were often united in the greateſt lords and knights, is ſeen in the Hiſtory of the Albigenſes, where Gui Cap de Pore is deſcribed as a knight of the higheſt birth, the greateſt valour, and as the beſt lawyer in Chriſtendom. And the brave captain, Peter de Monraby (ſays Gerard de Rouſſillon) "was ſo dangerouſly wounded in a battle, that he was obliged to keep his bed five years, without being able to mount on horſeback, or judge a proceſs." This union of offices depended, however, on talents and inclination, and was not of abſolute neceſſity, as, indeed, it was impoſſible it ſhould be. In an old romance it is obſerved, agreeable to this, that a lady who had for her huſband a rich lord, captivated the heart of a knight. The huſband was an eloquent man, a fine

ſpeaker,

ſpeaker, and of able judgment; and it was his favourite employment to aſſiſt at pleadings, and to pronounce judgment: the lover, on the contrary, breathed ardently the deſire of acquiring glory, gaining the prizes at tournaments, and getting the reputation of a brave knight.

As to the tournaments, though they were prohibited by the Popes, on account of the blood there ſhed—with menaces to deprive of eccleſiaſtical ſepulchre thoſe who ſhould be killed in them—yet they were always held in honour, to the loſs of many lives. In 1240 ſixty knights, in a tournament at Nuys, near Cologne, were ſlain. The exceſſive expences they drew on the nobility, which prevented their contributions to the wars, was the reaſon of their being interdicted in France. Other princes encouraged them, that they might lower their vaſſals, and lead them to ſpend their fortunes in exceſs of emulation; and the tournaments, in this view,

were the gulph of the nobles, who vied with each other in the moſt inconceivable extravagancies.

BEAUCAIRE, ſtill a celebrated place for its fairs, was once ſtill more ſo for the uſeleſs and criminal prodigality obſerved at the feaſts which, in the midſt of ſummer, were held there by the princes, the lords, and knights. In 1174 the king of England proclaimed a tournament there, which was to celebrate the reconciliation of Remond, duke of Narbonne, with the king of Arragon. The monarchs were not there; but ten thouſand lords and knights cauſed their names to reſound by the moſt laviſh prodigality. The count de Thouloufe gave to Remond d'Agout a hundred thouſand pieces of money; and the latter, a generous and magnificent knight, diſtributed them immediately, in equal portions, to a hundred other knights. Bertran Raibaux having ordered them to plough, with twelve pair of oxen, the field

of

of the tournament, had thirty thouſand pieces of money ſowed in it;—the expreſſion 'ſow with ſilver' was, perhaps, derived from hence. William Gros de Martello, who came to this court, accompanied with four hundred knights, employed no other fire to prepare the meats of his table, but what was made with wax candles and flambeaux. The counteſs de Sorgue ſent a crown of the value of forty thouſand ſols to William Meta, who was to be proclaimed Prince of the Jongleurs. In fine, Romnous de Venous ſhewed, in his prodigality, the moſt barbarous cruelty; he had thirty fine horſes brought thither, and as a ſpectacle of magnificence, as he called it (devoutly hoped to be without example) had theſe noble and unfortunate victims of his cruelty burnt alive before all the ſpectators. Every other inſtance of the moſt fooliſh or deſperate prodigality was nothing, compared to this ſavage inſtance of inhumanity. Houſes, lands, lives, loſt freely by the owners, or with mutual

mutual conſent, were at the will of the givers or loſers; but to be wanton in barbarity to ſuch defenceleſs, noble, uſeful animals, muſt cauſe every breaſt to ſhudder; and can have only one uſe in the reciting, which is, to prove that when men once give into exceſſes, for the ſake of emulation and prodigality, it ſo depraves the mind, as to hazard its becoming abandoned to the vileſt actions, under the deluding maſk of greatneſs and generoſity.

By ſuch effects of the tournaments they were degraded; and opulence, intrigue, and ſtrength, taking place inſtead of courage and virtue, proved their ruin. It is poſſible it was from this degradation of Chivalry, that the famous proverb came into vogue, 'A good name is better than a golden girdle:' for this made a part of the dreſs of the knights, as well as of the ladies, to whom it has been ſolely applied. The power of the knights being thus changed into means of private intereſt, or private quarrels; and not being able to breathe

breathe in peace, when public wars called not for their services; they became no better than robbers and victims of each other, and the poor people were often sacrificed to their ungoverned animosities and rage. Thus, unjust themselves, they could not but be unjust to others: they abandoned all administration of justice; and France, often defolated in the midst of its wars and troubles, was obliged to let these disorders go unpunished; and those who should have defended the interests of the nation they belonged to, as anciently their progenitors did, were multiplying every day its evils, by the promotions that took place without number in the fatal civil wars. Thus did they add to the number of its tyrants, and to the increase of public misery; insomuch that it was found necessary sometimes to arm against those its pretended defenders, as we find in the reigns of king John and Charles the Fifth.

THE

THE more conſequence thoſe knights loſt by their increaſed number, the more they attempted to regain, by a forced authority, what had been granted to the benevolence and bravery of their anceſtors; and by violence and rapine lift themſelves from the duſt to which they were allied. A peaſant in the twelfth century, who led his cart, drawn by two oxen, and loaded with wax, to the caſtle of his lord, was metamorphoſed very ſoon, by hitting the temper of his maſter, and his fooliſh taſte for profuſion; and, among other things, contriving for him a moſt ſuperb illumination: for this zeal and complaiſance he was rewarded with the gift of a fief, had noble land granted to him, and his children were decorated with the honour of Chivalry. This abuſe of the rewards due to merit increaſed ſo ſhamefully, that, Brantome obſerves, "at laſt they created themſelves knights, without applying to the king; inſomuch that knights were

more

more in number now (ſuch as they were) than formerly were ſeen of ſquires and young gentlewomen in their ſervice: and to their wives they gave the title of Madam, belonging only to nobility; and they themſelves, who were only allowed to wear ſilver, now uſurp golden ſpurs."—"They reckon (ſays la Noue) more than three hundred gentlemen, who, by dint of importunity, obtained of the king the order of St. Michel; but they ſorely repented, and near a hundred of them hid in their cheſts the mark they had received from the order of the king, to avoid the expences they had, by engaging in this condition, brought on themſelves, and which would have brought them, had they continued in it, to the alms-houſe." And he adds, "that the order given by Henry the Third did not ſucceed better with any of thoſe who had obtained it." The profound ignorance alſo of many knights (for ſome could not even read) obliged them not only to abandon the

adminiſtration

ſieged in Rennes, and receiving a herald from the poſt of the duke of Lancaſter, who brought him a ſafe conduct to admit him to that prince; he took the writing, and delivered it to another to read; for nothing knew he, or would deign to know, of letters: "altho' (ſays the hiſtorian) he ſuffered not himſelf to be held in awe by clerks, whom he called Furred Hoods; and for their abuſes oppoſed them reſolutely, and held them in the higheſt contempt and indignity."

NOTWITHSTANDING the diſorders here faithfully related, and which, more or leſs, all eſtabliſhments are ſubject to, Chivalry ſuſtained its reputation, from the high eſteem it was in for ſo many ages, founded on the wiſdom of its laws, and the glory of its heroes; and probably it would have ſubſiſted to the lateſt period, if other cauſes, which remain to be revealed, had not brought on its total ruin.

THE

THE hiſtory of France preſents ſeveral princes on the throne, who were the models and the protectors of Chivalry. Of all theſe the moſt illuſtrious ſeem to have been Charles the Sixth and Seventh, and Francis the Firſt. Charles the Sixth breathed nothing but war: on his emerging from childhood, a glorious victory had ſignalized his firſt arms; and he was reproached for his exceſſive paſſion for tournaments, even when tournaments were held in the higheſt honour. Contrary to the uſual cuſtom of princes, and above all of kings, he meaſured ſwords with the braveſt and moſt ſkilful jouſters, without examining, whether they were or were not of noble birth: and this lowered his dignity and expoſed his life. And to the very end of his reign, in 1414, notwithſtanding the deplorable ſtate of his health, he re-animated his oppreſſed vigour, appeared again in arms, and ſaw with delight in the duke de Guienne, his ſon, a worthy competitor of his love and ſkill in the

exercises of Chivalry. Some authors have attributed the law, which forbade princes to expose their persons in tournaments, to the infirmities of Robert count de Clermont, son of St. Louis, caused by the blows of the maces he received in a tournament: but the law was anterior; it existed from the time of Lewis the Seventh, and Philip Augustus. The author of the romance of Gerard de Rousillon alludes to this law, when he says, that Gerard, after having been a spectator of the tournaments of his vassals, exercised himself against a stake; probably the figure in wood of an armed man. Not being allowed to mix with his inferiors, he was glad to shew them the grace and address with which he could handle his arms, and to give them a model of excellence. Charles the Sixth, at the marriage of the count of Hainault, would not be bound by this custom: he would joust against one named Colart d'Espinay, a most reputed jouster; and valiantly did he shew

his

his ſkill in arms: and for his youth and vigour, he was then praiſed and admired. But when, being married, he continued to diſplay his talents in jouſting, ſufficiently known before, many of the nobles were ill content that he did ſo; and ſaid the danger was too great, and he ſhould have been perſuaded otherwiſe: but the anſwer was, He would not be perſuaded. Thus he degraded his royal dignity, by mixing in the crowd with ſo little caution and gravity. Neither ill health (in part owing to ſuch violent exerciſes) nor the murmurs of his people could reſtrain him. On the arrival of the ambaſſador, who came from England to treat of the marriage of his daughter Catharine, he regaled them with ſuperb feaſts of all kinds; but above all with tournaments, in which he jouſted againſt the duke of Alençon, in the preſence of the queen and the princeſſes of her court; and he cauſed the young duke de Guienne alſo, his ſon, the preſumptive heir of his talents as well

as of his crown, to make proof of his valour, and the fine vigour of his youth. He ran ſeveral courſes with ſuch addreſs and courage, that the admiration of him was very great.

THE valour of Charles the Seventh, and what he did to wreſt from the Engliſh the fineſt provinces of his monarchy, is graved in ineffaceable characters in the ſouls of a nation ſo tenderly attached to their legitimate ſovereigns. Francis the Firſt, the conqueror of Marignan, of a nation till then looked on as invincible (for the Swiſs ſtyled themſelves till then the Conquerors of Princes), paſſed almoſt all his life in camps and armies. His bravery, his probity, his frankneſs, his generoſity, his gallantry, his fine figure, his open and martial phyſiognomy,—all would have given him the preference, even in the moſt ancient period of romance, as the chief of knights errant; and his name inſcribed among the liſt of the Nine Worthies,

thies, would not have ſullied their honour. In all his actions, he propoſed to himſelf for a model the laws of Ancient Chivalry, which he preferred to the uſual maxims of politics. He aſpired alſo to the glory of the Nine Worthies (ſo well known in the ancient courts, though loſt to the knowledge of later periods, or only preſerved by tradition and the ceremonies of our kings at arms), and he ſhewed himſelf to his court, dreſſed in the manner of thoſe ancient heroes. A young gentlewoman ſeeing him one day in that equipage, told him, by way of compliment, ſhe thought ſhe beheld in his perſon one of the Neuf *Lépreux*, meaning to have ſaid Neuf *Preux*.

WHO would have imagined, that under theſe three reigns of Charles the Sixth, Henry the Seventh, and Francis the Firſt, ſo ſeemingly favourable to Chivalry, its ruin ſhould commence? yet ſo it really was. The diviſions that took place among the princes of the royal blood, during

king Charles's malady, cauſed in all the parts of the government an infinity of diſorders; and thoſe introduced into chivalry were not the leaſt pernicious. Thoſe princes conſidered the authority (almoſt deſpotic) which paſſed into their hands, and which they wreſted from each other without ceaſing, as a proper inſtrument to ſerve their ambition, their cupidity, and the mutual hatred that devoured them. If in ſome lucid intervals the unfortunate monarch reſumed over them the abſolute power they had torn from him, it was only to beſtow it on favourites; who made as bad a uſe of it, alternately riſing on the ruins of each other. The chiefs of theſe different parties thought they could only ſuſtain themſelves by the aids of Chivalry; and not reflecting that it was the excellent conſtitution of Chivalry, and not the multitude of knights, that produced the ſtrength of ſtates,—they ſought to procure a great number of creatures by the frequent and

undiſtinguiſhing promotions they made. From the candidates for this new ſort of knighthood, neither ſtrength nor expence was exacted: the honour was laviſhed on children of ten and even ſeven years of age, inſtead of waiting the time of ſquires' ſervice, and perfection in the exerciſe of arms. There was no account of probity nor of manners: raw men and boys became rich with the ſpoils of the ſtate, in places they had gained by intrigue, and in which they maintained themſelves by the vileſt flattery; thus receiving the rewards due only to the brave and worthy defenders of the ſtate. Many of them did indeed loſe their lives in its ſervice; for, from their inexperience and raſhneſs, they were only ſo many victims dreſſed out and adorned for ſacrifice; and theſe thunderers of war, who were flying about every where, threatening to deſtroy all the world, were ſo many Adonis's covered over with pearls; and their perſons more lily-white and ſhining than

the fineſt ivory:—wholly occupied with their dreſs and adjuſtments, and carrying always in their hands little glaſſes, to ſmooth the hairs that had ſtraggled out of their places. If theſe were the exerciſes they were employed in, and ſuch the effeminate life they lived, no wonder that Chivalry declined and fell into abhorrence. It was, however, kept alive, on the brink of its deſtruction, by the effort of Charles the Seventh, who had no other reſources by which to ſupport himſelf. To the deſire of preſerving his crown, was joined the ardour of preſerving a miſtreſs, in whom reigned all thoſe ſentiments of glory, with which Ancient Chivalry had inſpired ladies of the higheſt birth: and his too frequent promotions of knights was to excite and recompenſe the valour of his ſubjects, on occaſions which war continually furniſhed him with.

BUT however powerful theſe ſuccours to ſtrengthen his tottering throne, he failed

failed not to add others. He inſtituted a new body of militia, regularly paid from a new tax, called the Gendarmery, or horſe of the king's houſhold, by which he propoſed to increaſe the emulation of the knights. And he was not deceived; for he beheld in this militia warriors capable of diſputing with their rivals, and of gathering from them, in after-times, the palm of glory. The more ardour theſe new levies expreſſed, the more eager were the nobility of France to inſcribe their names in their muſter-roll: for, beſides the advantage they found in a ſervice which admitted of no interruption, there was alſo a right, in theſe militia, to command the troops, which was not confined to the rank of banneret or knight: and this continued ſervice rendered the Gendarmery better diſciplined, and more able and uſeful in the armies: and, if they did not poſſeſs the ſtrict manners and all the noble virtues of Ancient Chivalry, they were not at all deficient in the heroic va-

lour of it, which they preſerve with the moſt exact military diſcipline to this day. Francis the Firſt, finally, ſeemed created on purpoſe to recover, in the military ſtate, the true ſpirit of Ancient Chivalry. It cannot be doubted, that the elevation of his genius, and his love of war, cauſed him to cheriſh particularly the military virtues: he had ſhewn how high they were in his eſteem, when, at the battle of Marignan, he would be armed a knight by the chevalier Bayard.

THE example of Francis the Firſt was followed by that of his ſon, Henry the Second, who, when he was dauphin, at the camp of Marſeilles in 1536, would receive the honour of Chivalry from no other hand but that of the marechal de Biez: which afterwards ſaved the life of the marechal, who was going to be executed for ſome action of his ſon-in-law, which brought both into trouble. But Henry, remembering that to the marechal

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he owed his knighthood, ſent him inſtantly a pardon.

FRANCIS the Firſt carried his love and eſteem for talents of every kind to the higheſt pitch, whatever was the rank of thoſe who poſſeſſed them: he accorded his protection and rewards to all without diſtinction; he ſaw in them no ſuperiority, but what their genius and merit gave them. Thoſe who excelled in the knowledge of the laws, the ſciences, and letters, he decorated with the ſword, dreſs, and prerogatives of Chivalry, as badges of honour; and by ſo doing, taught his nobility (almoſt all warriors) that they ſhould reſerve a part of their eſteem for thoſe qualities, which equally concur with military talents to the glory of the ſtate. But ſuch examples becoming too frequent, produced a contrary effect; and ſtamped ſtill more powerfully on the minds of the nobles, the pre-eminence of valour; and that no other glory was worthy of their purſuit.

Bouteiller,

Bouteiller, a famous advocate in 1380, ſays, "a lawyer may and ought to wear gold, as well as the knights; they are in the records called knights of law, and have equal privileges." There was a diſpute however on this matter, held before the emperor Sigiſmund, at the council of Bale, in 1431; when he aſſigned the precedency to the doctors of laws over the knights: "For I can (ſays he), in one day, make an hundred armed knights; but a good doctor of laws, was I to live a thouſand years, I could not make." And the emperor Charles the Fourth gave the dubbing to Barthole the advocate, and even the right of bearing the arms of Bohemia: and Charles duke of Briſſac made William Bailli, an advocate in the parliament of Paris, a knight; and he was confirmed in this dignity by Henry the Second and Charles the Ninth: and the emperor Charles the Fifth honoured thoſe artiſts, who were eminent for their genius, with the ſame dignity and privileges.

leges. But thoſe who were deſcended from the firſt heroes, or who were created knights for their military ſervices, could never endure to divide their glory with ſuch perſons, or to behave to them as their equals: and their jealouſy was ſo vehement, that ſome knights choſe to give up knighthood, and many neglected the uſual opportunities of receiving knighthood at breaches, or in the field of battle, becauſe knighthood had been conferred on magiſtrates and men of letters: though the adminiſtration of juſtice was always allowed one of the eſſential offices of ancient Chivalry. They did not reflect on this; nor that magiſtrates combated, without ceaſing, the moſt dangerous enemies of the ſtate,—the diſturbers of the public peace; nor foreſaw that their ſucceſſors, having only the laws and their own courage for their arms, would be obliged, under the reigns of Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth, to make head againſt the efforts of a mutinous populace, to aid

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the legitimate heir of the crown to mount the throne, to which theſe rebels dared to diſpute his right. In fact, the union of theſe bodies, for the preſervation of good order and the defence of the nation, was neceſſary, and both were of equal importance, and deſerved equal honour: and this was evident from the very cuſtom of kings and the higher barons, who called the knights to their councils; and impoſed the obligation of their aſſiſting at them with as much equity and good faith, as they had ſhewn intrepidity and valour in their military ſervices.

KING Charles the Eighth, holding a council in the hotel of the biſhop of Paris, on the ſubject of a letter written by the archduke Maximilian, in 1486, to the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to induce them to revolt,—aſſembled the knights of his order, and his other counſellors, to read to them his anſwer, and to have their opinion. Montluc followed this example in his councils of war; and ſhew-

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ed the knights of his order the letters which he wrote, and communicated to them his deſigns, for their advice.

Since the time of Francis the Firſt, there have been few knights created, except on the field of battle; as in the inſtances of the brave Montluc, who received the ſword of Chivalry from the duke d'Anguien, after the battle of Ceriſoles in 1544; and Froelich, colonel-general of the thirteen Swiſs enſigns, whom the king ennobled, and inveſted with the charge of lieutenant of the hundred Swiſs. We may alſo conſider the viſit king Henry the Fourth made to M. de Roſni, wounded in the battle of Yvri in 1590, as a remnant of the ancient cuſtom of military Chivalry: The king, embracing him in the preſence of ſeveral princes, captains, and noble knights, ſaid to him—"I embrace you with my open arms, and declare you, in the ſight of all theſe, a true and faithful knight; not only by the orders I now confer on you, of St. Michael and

and the Holy Ghoſt, but more eſpecially by the ſincere and perfect affection in which I hold you."

THE fatal accident, which cauſed Henry the Second to periſh in the midſt of his court, and in the view of a nation to whom he was dear, produced a revolution in the minds of the French, which completed the ruin of Chivalry: and though many, among them the archbiſhop of Bourges, in his harangue to his ſtates in 1589, ſupported its cauſe; and Roſni, juſt before the death of Henry the Fourth, and Lewis the Thirteenth and Fourteenth, did confer knighthood; and other princes, in ſome caſes; yet this mortal ſtroke extinguiſhed, in the hearts of the French, the ardour they had till this time teſtified for jouſts and tournaments: and they feared to recall a ſpectacle, which had thrown, and might again throw, all France into conſternation. The ſpirit of fighting could not, however, be ſuppreſſed,

preſſed, but flamed out in private duels; and, for want of employment, it came to paſs that jouſts of courteſy were turned into combats of outrage; which, joined to the civil wars, were nearly the deſtruction of the French nobility.

To the introduction of letters was owing the reformation and ſafety of the French nation. Theſe diffuſed into their hearts, in this declining period of their ſtate, the ſentiments of true humanity; and taught them a more uniform courſe of virtue. Du Gueſclin, we have ſeen, and ſome others, could not even read; and injudiciouſly deſpiſed all thoſe who knew or profeſſed letters. Affecting were the complaints made by Alain Chartier, on this ignorance of princes and great lords: "With idle negligence immured, they live in eaſe, who are ordained to watch the public good; as if they had no other work, but ſtill to eat, and drink, and be admired: and this is their language—To know letters

is a reproach to men of noble rank; to write and read, a ſhame to gentry.—Oh who can utter greater folly! who can publiſh more alarming errors!—A king thus fooliſh is a crowned aſs." The count of Anjou uſed this phraſe as a proverb: Being vexed that king Lewis, ſon of Lewis the Simple, and his courtiers, mocked him for mixing among the clerks or ſcholars in the church of Tours,—he replied boldly, "A king without letters, and a crowned aſs, are only one and the ſame thing." M. Fleury, agreeable to this, ſpeaking of the care Charlemagne took for the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and the re-eſtabliſhment of letters, ſays, "The loſs of the arts and of letters would be of ſmall account, if religion was not concerned in it: but religion cannot ſubſiſt without ſtudy, and inſtruction to preſerve ſound maxims and good morals.

PERMIT me, therefore, to conclude this account of Chivalry, with recalling

to view thoſe ancient heroes, whoſe eminence in juſtice and good morals, no leſs than in the greateſt acts of valour, is worthy of the higheſt admiration. A generous hoſpitality, which is the true magnificence, appears to have governed all their actions. The revenue of many of thoſe nobles (as is ſtill the caſe with ſome of the firſt families in France) was immenſe; and it was neceſſary it ſhould be ſo, to ſupport the nobility of their anceſtors, and ſuch a multitude of vaſſals. Their bounty ſeems to have been uniformly diſpenſed for the bleſſing of millions; not laviſhed away with an idle oſtentation. But, above all, how praiſe-worthy was their attention to the youth of both ſexes, whom they nouriſhed with a parental and judicious care; and who grew up, under their examples, patterns of virtue, courage, and good manners! With reſpect to ſcience, their knowledge was defective; and their ſyſtem of education required ſo

many domeſtic and military duties, as to leave little time for ſtudy: but they muſt have obtained much information, ſome from their travels into different countries, and obſervation of their laws and manners; others from the exact attention to the diſtribution of juſtice, when they arrived at the honour of knighthood; and all from the narrations made by the knights on their return, the compoſitions of the Troubadours, the converſation of their lords and ladies, and that of the noble gueſts received at their caſtles. The practical and excellent effects of this education was proved, in numberleſs inſtances, in the firſt ages of Chivalry, many of which have been given in theſe Memoirs. Should the view of ſuch amiable characters inſpire the hearts of thoſe, who are entering into life, with the ſame modeſt diffidence of themſelves—the ſame admirable induſtry in the ſtations aſſigned them—and the ſame grateful, obſervant,

and courteous attention to their benefactors and ſuperiors, which ſhone ſo conſpicuouſly in the youth of both ſexes, in the firſt ages of Chivalry,—I ſhall feel myſelf amply rewarded for my labour.—Nor let it be forgotten, that it was the neglect of theſe virtues in education, and the increaſe of luxury and diſſipation from ſuch neglect, that brought the kingdom of France, in ſucceeding ages, to the brink of ruin: and it is an awful conſideration, that however diſſimilar in ſome reſpects, yet in this point, with all the ſuperior knowledge we boaſt in this enlightened period and country, the declining age of Chivalry bears a ſtrong reſemblance to the preſent times. Happy will it be, indeed, if that affectionate compact of youth and age, that diſcretion and modeſty, and that noble hoſpitality of character and refinement of manners, ſhall revive in this nation, which, in the firſt years of Chivalry, were the foundation of its glory (and for which,

which, in the good old times, the Engliſh were no leſs renowned); and ſhall join with the increaſe of knowledge to check the progreſs of diſſipation, and reſtore thoſe principles of morality, order, and reſpect, which can alone inſure ſolid virtue, real elegance, and public peace.

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